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Orations
Addresses and Speeches
OF
CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

EDITED BY
JOHN DENISON CHAMPLIN

VOLUME VI
POLITICAL SPEECHES



NEW YORK
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INTRODUCTION

BY THE HONORABLE JAMES S. SHERMAN
Vice-president of the United States

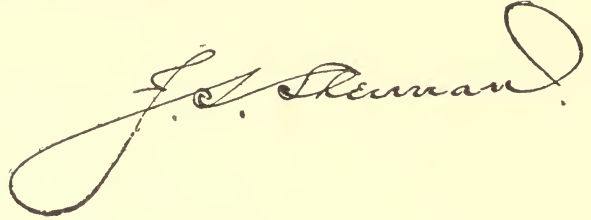
SENATOR DEPEW'S public utterances have covered such a wide range of subjects, have evidenced such marvelous versatility, all possess so great merit, that comparisons between those covering any particular line with another may well be omitted. And yet, perhaps, Mr. Depew's most unusual powers as an orator shine most brightly from the political platform. One who has not experienced the difficulties of touring the country day after day, making from twenty to thirty talks from the observation end of a railroad coach and from hastily constructed platforms on convenient street corners or in public parks, and then conclude the day's labor with one or two set speeches in the evening at times, also in the open air, can hardly imagine the strain and fatigue endured. Senator Depew has in this way participated in every presidential campaign for the past half century and in many State campaigns as well. He has cheerfully met the demands of his party, and the call for his return has ever been unanimous. His political addresses extend from the Civil War until to-day and, beyond their attractiveness and charm of diction, they are most valuable because they practically cover the political history of the country for the last half century.

Logic, patriotism, eloquence, humor, have ever characterized Senator Depew's political efforts and even those who do not agree with his sentiments have been glad to listen and to applaud. He possesses the happy faculty of combining argument, illustration and anecdote and sometimes, even criticism, in a straightforward manner but without offense, and no shaft from his oratorical bow has ever rankled or festered in the bosom of an opponent, no matter how sensitive he may have been.

The Republican Party of his State and this country owe much to Senator Depew. Those who peruse this volume will the more

readily acknowledge that indebtedness. His political speeches, as do all of his other orations, reflect clearly and positively his breadth of mind, his sunny disposition, his characteristic loyalty, his manhood, his intense patriotism and above all, his ability to deal with great and momentous questions from the view-point of a statesman and a philosopher.

Washington, June 22, 1910

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. S. Sherman". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The letters are fluid and connected, with a large, sweeping loop at the end of the word "Sherman".

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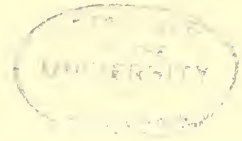
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POLITICAL SPEECHES



WITHDRAWAL FROM PRESIDENTIAL RACE

SPEECH WITHDRAWING FROM THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE, AT THE
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, CHICAGO, JUNE 22,
1888.



MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I came here as a delegate-at-large from the State of New York, neither expecting nor desiring to appear in this Convention or before it in any other capacity. After my arrival, the representatives of New York, by a unanimous vote, presented my name to this Convention. It was done for State reasons, in the belief that because it was the only time since the organization of the Republican Party that all divisions were healed and all interests united in the Empire State, it would secure in that commonwealth the triumph of the ticket. Under these conditions personal considerations and opinions could have no possible weight. Since then a discussion has arisen which has convinced me that my vocation and associations will raise a question in hitherto certain Republican States which might enable the enemy to obscure the great issue of the future industrial prosperity of this country, which unless obscured in some way will surely win us success this fall. The delegates from New York have voted to continue in this support so long as ballots were to be taken, but under the circumstances, after the most earnest and prayerful consideration, I came to the conclusion that no personal considerations, no State reasons, could stand for a moment in the way of the general success of the party all over the country, or could be permitted to threaten the integrity of the party in any commonwealth hitherto Republican. In our own State, by wise laws and wiser submission to them by the railroad companies, the railway problem has been so completely settled that it has disappeared from our politics. But I believe that there are communities where it is still so active that there may be danger in having it presented directly or indirectly. Under these circumstances, and after your vote this morning, I called on the delegation from my

own State and requested them to release me from further service in that capacity. They have consented, and my only excuse in appearing here is to give the reasons for their action, and for the appearance of my name, and to express my heartfelt thanks to gentlemen from the States and Territories who have honored me with their votes. The causes which have led to this action on the part of the Representatives from the State of New York, will leave no heartburnings among the people in that State. The delegation will go home to a constituency which was unanimously for me, to find it unanimous in the support of whomsoever may be the nominee of the Convention.

HARRISON FOR PRESIDENT

SPEECH NOMINATING PRESIDENT HARRISON FOR A SECOND TERM
AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, MINNEAPOLIS,
JUNE 10, 1892.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: It is the peculiarity of Republican National Conventions that each one of them has a distinct and interesting history. We are here to meet conditions and solve problems which make this gathering not only no exception to the rule, but substantially a new departure.

That there should be strong convictions and their earnest expression as to preferences and policies is characteristic of the right of individual judgment, which is the fundamental principle of Republicanism. There have been occasions when the result was so sure that the delegates could freely indulge in the charming privilege of favoritism and of friendship. But the situation that now confronts us demands the exercise of dispassionate judgment and our best thought and experience. We cannot venture on uncertain ground or encounter obstacles placed in the pathway of success by ourselves. The Democratic Party is now divided, but the hope of the possession of power once more will make it, in the final battle, more aggressive, determined, and unscrupulous than ever. It starts with fifteen States secure without an effort, by processes which are a travesty upon popular government, and if continued long enough will paralyze institutions founded upon popular suffrage. It has to win four more States in a fair fight, States which in the vocabulary of politics are denominated doubtful.

The Republican Party must appeal to the conscience and the judgment of the individual voter in every State in the Union. This is in accordance with the principles upon which it was founded and the objects for which it contends. It has accepted this issue before and fought it out with an extraordinary continuance of success. The conditions of Republican victory from 1860 to 1880 were created by Abraham Lincoln and Ulysses S.

Grant. They were that the saved Republic should be run by its saviors, the emancipation of the slaves, the reconstruction of the States, the reception of those who had fought to destroy the Republic back into the fold, without penalties or punishments, and to an equal share with those who had fought and saved the nation, in the solemn obligations and inestimable privileges of American citizenship. They were the embodiment into the Constitution of the principles for which two millions of men had fought and a half a million had died. They were the restoration of public credit, the resumption of specie payments, and the prosperous condition of solvent business.

For twenty-five years there were names with which to con-jure and events fresh in the public mind, which were eloquent with popular enthusiasm. It needed little else than a recital of the glorious story of its heroes and a statement of the achievements of the Republican Party to retain the confidence of the people. But from the desire for change which is characteristic of free governments there came a reversal, there came a check to the progress of the Republican Party and four years of Democratic administration.

These four years largely relegated to the realm of history past issues, and brought us face to face with what Democracy, its professions, and its practices mean to-day.

The great names which have adorned the roll of Republican statesmen and soldiers are still potent and popular. The great measures of the Republican Party are still the best part of the history of the century. The unequalled and unexampled story of Republicanism, in its promises and in its achievements, stands unique in the record of parties in governments which are free. But we live in practical times, facing practical issues which affect the business, the wages, the labor, and the prosperity of to-day.

The campaign will be won or lost, not upon the bad record of James K. Polk or of Franklin Pierce or of James Buchanan—not upon the good record of Lincoln or of Grant or of Arthur or of Hayes or of Garfield. It will be won or lost upon the policy, foreign and domestic, the industrial measures and the administrative acts of the administration of Benjamin Harrison.

Whoever receives the nomination of this Convention will run upon the judgment of the people as to whether they have been more prosperous and more happy, whether the country has been

in better conditions at home, and stood more honorably abroad under these last four years of Harrison and Republican administration, than during the preceding four years of Cleveland and Democratic government.

Not since Thomas Jefferson has any administration been called upon to face and solve so many or such difficult problems as those which have been exigent in our conditions. No administration since the organization of the Government has ever met difficulties better, or more to the satisfaction of the American people.

Chile has been taught that no matter how small the antagonist, no community can with safety insult the flag or murder American sailors. Germany and England have learned in Samoa that the United States has become one of the powers of the world, and no matter how mighty the adversary, at every sacrifice American honor will be maintained. The Bering Sea question, which was the insurmountable obstacle in the diplomacy of Cleveland and of Bayard, has been settled upon a basis which sustains the American position, until arbitration shall have determined our right.

The dollar of the country has been placed and kept on the standard of commercial nations, and a convention has been agreed upon with foreign governments which, by making bi-metallism the policy of all nations, may successfully solve all our financial problems.

The tariff, tinkered and trifled with to the serious disturbance of trade and disaster to business since the days of Washington, has been courageously embodied into a code—a code which has preserved the principle of the protection of American industries. To it has been added a beneficent policy, supplemented by beneficent treaties and wise diplomacy, which has opened to our farmers and manufacturers the markets of other countries.

The Navy has been builded upon lines which will protect American citizens and American interests and the American flag all over the world.

The public debt has been reduced. The maturing bonds have been paid off. The public credit has been maintained. The burdens of taxation have been lightened. Two hundred millions of currency have been added to the people's money without disturbance of the exchanges. Unexampled prosperity has crowned wise laws and their wise administration.

The main question which divides us is, to whom does the credit of all this belong? Orators may stand upon this platform, more able and more eloquent than I, who will paint in more brilliant colors, but they cannot put in more earnest thought the affection and admiration of Republicans for our distinguished Secretary of State.

I yield to no Republican, no matter from what State he hails, in admiration and respect for John Sherman, for Governor McKinley, for Thomas B. Reed, for Iowa's great son, for the favorites of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. But when I am told that the credit for the brilliant diplomacy of this administration belongs exclusively to the Secretary of State, for the administration of its finances to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the construction of its ships to the Secretary of the Navy, for the settlement, so far as it has been settled, of the currency question to Senator John Sherman, for the formulation of the tariff laws to Governor McKinley, for the removal of the restrictions placed by foreign nations upon the introduction of American pork to our ministers at Paris and Berlin, I am tempted to seriously inquire, who, during the last four years, has been President of the United States!

Cæsar, when he wrote his "Commentaries," the history of the conquest of Europe under his leadership, modestly took the position of Æneas when he said, "They are the narrative of events, the whole of which I saw, and part of which I was."

General Thomas, as the rock of Chickamauga, occupies a place in our history with Leonidas among the Greeks, except that he succeeded where Leonidas failed. The fight of Joe Hooker above the clouds was the poetry of battle. The resistless rush of Sheridan and his steed down the valley of the Shenandoah is the lyric of our Civil War. The march of Sherman from Atlanta to the sea is the supreme triumph of gallantry and strategy. It detracts nothing from the splendor of the fame or the merits of the deeds of his lieutenants to say that, having selected them with marvelous sagacity and discretion, Grant still remained the supreme commander of the National Army.

All the proposed acts of any administration, before they are formulated, are passed upon in Cabinet council, and the measures and suggestions of the ablest Secretaries would have failed with a lesser President; but for the great good of the country and the

benefit of the Republican Party, they have succeeded, because of the suggestive mind, the indomitable courage, the intelligent appreciation of situations and the grand magnanimity of Benjamin Harrison.

It is an undisputed fact that during the few months when both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury were ill, the President personally assumed the duties of the State Department and of the Treasury Department, and both with equal success.

The Secretary of State, in accepting his portfolio under President Garfield wrote: "Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all diverting its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation." Garfield fell before the bullet of the assassin, and Mr. Blaine retired to private life. General Harrison invited him to take up that unfinished diplomatic career, where its threads had been so tragically broken. He entered the Cabinet. He resumed his work, and has won a higher place in our history. The prophecy as made for Garfield has been superbly fulfilled by President Harrison. In the language of Mr. Blaine, "the President has compelled a re-election by the logic of events, and the imperious necessities of the situation."

The man who is nominated here to-day, to win, must carry a certain well-known number of the doubtful States. Patrick Henry, in the convention which started rolling the ball of colonial independence of Great Britain, said: "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past."

New York was carried in 1880 by General Garfield, and in every important election since that time we have done our best. We have put forth our ablest, our most popular, our most brilliant leaders for Governor and State officers to suffer constant defeat. The only light which illumines with the sun of hope the dark record of those twelve years, is the fact that in 1888 the State of New York was triumphantly carried by President Harrison. He carried it then as a gallant soldier, a wise senator, a statesman who inspired confidence by his public utterances in daily speech from the commencement of the canvass to its close. He still has all these claims, and, in addition, an administration beyond criti-

cism and rich with the elements of popularity with which to carry New York again.

Ancestry helps in the Old World and handicaps in the New. There is but one distinguished example of a son first overcoming the limitations imposed by the pre-eminent fame of his father, and then rising above it, and that was when the younger Pitt became greater than Chatham.

With an ancestor a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and another who saved the Northwest from savagery and gave it to civilization and empire, and who was also President of the United States, a poor and unknown lawyer of Indiana has risen by his unaided efforts to such distinction as lawyer, orator, soldier, statesman and President, that he reflects more credit upon his ancestors than they have devolved upon him, and presents in American history the parallel of the younger Pitt.

By the grand record of a wise and popular administration, by the strength gained in frequent contact with the people in wonderfully versatile and felicitous speech, by the claims of a pure life in public and in the simplicity of a typical American home, I nominate Benjamin Harrison.

MORTON FOR PRESIDENT

SPEECH NOMINATING GOVERNOR LEVI P. MORTON FOR PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CON-
VENTION, ST. LOUIS, JUNE 16, 1896.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:
National Republican Conventions have been epoch makers. They have formulated the principles, originated the policies and suggested the measures which in the history of the United States form its most progressive periods. They have nominated for the Presidency statesmen and soldiers who were the leaders of the people in their onward march to larger liberty and broader and better industrial conditions.

No party, no matter however glorious its achievements or how brilliant its successes, can rely upon the past. Its former triumphs are only its certificates of character, which must be met by continuing effort as beneficent and wise as anything of which it boasts. The party which is to permanently govern a country and is secure in its past, must not only be equal to the present, but must forecast and provide for the future. The Republican Party has held possession of the Government of the United States for more than a generation because it has triumphantly met these conditions. The unequalled successes of the Republican Party, its hold upon the country and its masterful influence upon affairs have been due to the fact that in every crisis its principles have solved the problems of the hour and its selected leader has been the man for the occasion. The greatest moral and patriotic questions which a free people were ever called upon to meet were slavery and secession in the early days of our organization. But with "Union and Liberty" as our watchword and with Lincoln as our leader we saved the Republic and emancipated the slave. The passionate and critical issues of reconstruction were successfully met and the hostile sections happily united by a policy of conciliation which could only secure the consent of the victors and the assent of the conquered by the influence of the soldier President who had the confidence of the armies which he had led in

triumph and the enemies whom he had paroled with honor. In a period when progress halted because of the distrust of commonwealths, and their citizens of each other, the later and better judgment of the country expressed its acknowledgment to the non-partisanship and judicial fairness of Hayes and Evarts. The youth who came to manhood after the Civil War and knew little of its agonies or its animosities, found a glorious example of American possibility and achievement in the canal driver, the college student, the school principal, the college president, the Union general, the illustrious debater in the House of Representatives, the brilliant and magnetic Garfield. In defeat and in victory, for the policies which stood for the development of American industries, for America for Americans, whether native or naturalized, and for the reciprocity which bound the North American and South American continents together, we had the Plumed Knight of our enthusiasm and our love, James G. Blaine. As a new generation came to the majority, to whom the past was a legend, the present, the difficult task of development and prosperity and the future theory without experience, the Republican Party again happily practiced, in its control of the executive and the legislative branches of the Government, that policy of the protection of American industries and that practice of sound finance which gave to the Republic its era of greatest prosperity and its period of the largest returns for capital, the fullest employment for labor and the highest wages for work in the history of our nation in the closing year of the administration of that able and accomplished statesman, Benjamin Harrison.

A few weeks preceding the Convention of four years ago at Minneapolis I had an afternoon with Mr. Blaine. With marvelous intuition he forecast the future. He said: "Substantially all the forces of opposition, of distrust and of disappointment, of theory and of imagination which accumulate against a party that has been in power for over thirty years are now concentrated for an assault upon our position and is certain to succeed. The Democratic Party and its allies of Populism and of all other isms are destined in this campaign, no matter who is our candidate or what is our platform, to secure possession of the Government." The country knows to its loss, its sorrow and its grief, that the prediction has been fulfilled in every part. In its fulfill-

ment the United States has the experience and Europe has the business and prosperity.

We meet to take up the broken cord of national development and happiness and link it once more to the car of progress. Our industries stagnant, our manufactures paralyzed, our agriculture disheartened, our artisans unemployed, our finances disordered, our treasury bankrupt, our credit impaired, our position among the nations of the world questioned, all look to this convention and call upon its wisdom for hope and rescue.

The conditions created by the practice of Democratic policies, the promise of Democratic measures, and the differences of Democratic statesmen would seem to argue an unquestioned and overwhelming triumph for the Republican Party in the coming election. No matter how brilliant the promise, no matter how serene the outlook, it is the part of wisdom, with the uncertainties of politics and our recent experience of the tragic shifting of issues, to be careful, prudent and wise in platform and in candidate.

I am grieved to see a secession for any cause from a Republican Convention. I can honor the intense devotion to an idea which impels the delegates representing the free coinage of silver constituencies to sever lifelong political associations. But I believe the gentlemen who have just left us, who are Republicans on every vital principle of our party, will sooner or later rejoin the only party with which they can permanently act. The hope of that return is the silver lining to our party clouds. I cannot help reminding our departing friends that the streets of Heaven are paved with gold, and in rejecting and fleeing from that metal on the highway of prosperity and progress, there is no intermediate purgatory for a resting place. The standard of Heaven is revealed and known, that of the other place an experiment.

The last few years have been a campaign of university extension among the people of the United States, and while we may in platform and candidate meet all the requirements of party obligations and party expectations, we must remember that there is a vast constituency which has little fealty to parties or to organizations but votes for the man and the principles which are in accord with their views in the administration of the country. The whole country, North, South, East and West, without any division in our lines, or out of them, stands, after what has happened in the last three years, for the protection of

American industries, for the principle of reciprocity and for America for Americans. But a compact neighborhood of great commonwealths, in which are concentrated the majority of the population, of the manufactures and of the industrial energies of the United States, has found that business and credit exist only with the stability of sound money.

It has become the fashion of late to decry business as unpatriotic. We hear much of the "sordid considerations of capital," "employment," "industrial energies" and "prosperous labor." The United States, differing from the medieval conditions which govern older countries, differing from the militarism which is the curse of European nations, differing from thrones which rest upon the sword, is preeminently and patriotically a commercial and a business nation. Thus commerce and business are synonymous with patriotism. When the farmer is afield sowing and reaping the crops which find a market that remunerates him for his toil, when the laborer and the artisan find work seeking them and not themselves despairing of work, when the wage of the toiler promises comfort for his family and hope for his children, when the rail is burdened with the product of the soil and of the factory, when the spindles are humming and the furnaces are in blast, when the mine is putting out its largest product and the national and individual wealth are constantly increasing, when the homes owned unmortgaged by the people are more numerous day by day and month by month, when the schools are most crowded, the fairs most frequent and happy conditions most universal in the nation, then are the promises fulfilled which make these United States of America the home of the oppressed and the land of the free.

It is to meet these conditions and to meet them with a candidate who represents them and about whom there can be no question, that New York presents to you for the Presidency, under the unanimous instructions of two successive Republican State Conventions, the name of her Governor, Levi P. Morton. New York is the cosmopolitan State of the Union. She is both a barometer and a thermometer of the changes of popular opinion and popular passion. She has been the pivotal commonwealth which has decided nearly every one of the national elections in this generation. She has more Yankees than any city in New England, more Southerners than any community in the South,

and more native-born Westerners than any city in the West, and the representatives of the Pacific Coast within her borders have been men who have done much for the development of that glorious region. These experienced and cosmopolitan citizens with their fingers upon the pulses of the finance and trade of the whole country, feel instantly the conditions that lead to disaster or to prosperity. Hence they swing the State sometime to the Republican and sometime to the Democratic column.

In the tremendous effort to break the hold which Democracy had upon our commonwealth, and which it had strengthened for ten successive years, we selected as our standard bearer the gentleman whom I present on behalf of our State here to-day and who carried New York, and took the Legislature with him, by one hundred and fifty-six thousand majority.

We are building a Navy and the White Squadron is a forerunner of a commerce which is to whiten every sea and carry our flag into every port of the world. Not our wish perhaps, nor our ambitions probably, but our very progress and expansion have made us one of the family of nations. We can no longer, without the hazard of unnecessary frictions with other governments, conduct our foreign policy except through the medium of a skilled diplomacy. For four years as minister to France, when critical questions of the import of our products into that country were imminent, Levi P. Morton learned and practiced successfully the diplomacy which was best for the prosperity of his country. None of the mistakes which have discredited our relations with foreign nations during the past four years could occur under his administrations. He is the best type of the American business man—that type which is the ideal of school, the academy and the college, that type which the mother presents to her boy in the Western cabin and in the Eastern tenement as she is marking out for him a career by which he shall rise from his poor surroundings to grasp the prizes which come through American liberty and American opportunity. You see the picture. The New England clergyman on his meagre salary, the large family of boys and girls about him, the sons going out with their common school education, the boy becoming the clerk in the store, then granted an interest in the business, then becoming its controlling spirit, then claiming the attention of the great house in the city and called to a partnership, then himself the master of great affairs.

Overwhelmed by the incalculable conditions of civil war, but with undaunted energy and foresight, he grasped again the elements of escape out of bankruptcy and of success and with the return of prosperity, he paid to the creditors who had compromised his indebtedness, every dollar, principal and interest, of what he owed them. The best type of a successful business man, he turns to politics, to be a useful member of Congress, to diplomacy, to be a successful minister abroad, to the executive and administrative branches of government, to be the most popular Vice-president and the presiding officer of that most august body, the Senate of the United States.

Our present deplorable industrial and financial conditions are largely due to the fact that while we have a President and a Cabinet of acknowledged ability, none of them have had business training or experience. They are persuasive reasoners upon industrial questions, but have never practically solved industrial problems. They are the book farmers who raise wheat at the cost of orchids and sell it at the price of wheat. With Levi P. Morton there would be no deficiency to be met by the issue of bonds, there would be no blight upon our credit which would call for the services of a syndicate, there would be no trifling with the delicate intricacies of finance and commerce which would paralyze the operations of trade and manufacture.

Whoever may be nominated by this Convention will receive the cordial support, the enthusiastic advocacy of the Republicans of New York, but in the shifting conditions of our commonwealth, Governor Morton can secure more than the party strength, and without question in the coming canvass, no matter what issues may arise between now and November, place the Empire State solidly in the Republican column.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

SPEECH IN RESPONSE TO THE MOTION MAKING THE NOMINATION OF MAJOR MC KINLEY UNANIMOUS, AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, ST LOUIS, JUNE 16, 1896.

GENTLEMEN: We of New York have made our battle for our favorite son. We have followed the instructions of the Convention which sent us here and we have been honorably beaten. We not only bow to the will of the majority, but we hail its choice with ardor and enthusiasm. We will go home to work night and day for the election of McKinley. We will roll up for him the largest majority which the Empire State has ever given any presidential candidate since the Civil War. It will not count by thousands, but by hundreds of thousands.

Since we have been here in touch with the rest of the country, we have felt the strength of his popularity and the power of his hold upon the people of the United States. He is not unknown to us. On the contrary, he has spoken all over our State and everywhere is loved and honored as a great leader of our Republican Party. He embodies more than any other man living the vital principle of the protection of American industries, the principle which has developed our resources, which has made our country so marvelously prosperous, the beneficent principle of the Republican Party.

The father of one of the candidates before this Convention was a New England Puritan minister in a little New England mountain hamlet. It was said of him that though he had thirteen children and a salary of only three hundred dollars a year, yet he was marvelously gifted in prayer. As the news of this nomination of McKinley is flashed over our country to-night and read to-morrow morning in every farmer's house and miner's cottage, in every store and factory, on every street corner, among those who are at work, and the thousands who are unemployed, there will be millions of the men and women who will be marvelously gifted in prayer—first, the prayer of thanksgiving and praise that the man who represents the principle of protection which gave

them work and wages, and homes and happiness is the candidate of the Republican Party; and then the prayer of petition to the Almighty that among the dispensations of His providences will be the election of William McKinley to the Presidency of the United States.

NOMINATION OF ROOSEVELT

SPEECH PRESENTING THE NAME OF COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT AS CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR, AT THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER 27, 1898.

GENTLEMEN: Not since 1863 has the Republican Party met in convention when the conditions of the country were so interesting or so critical. Then the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln, giving freedom and citizenship to four millions of slaves, brought about a revolution in the internal policy of our Government which seemed to multitudes of patriotic men full of the gravest dangers to the Republic. The effect of the situation was the sudden and violent sundering of the ties which bound the past to the present and the future. New problems were precipitated upon our statesmen to solve, which were not to be found in the text books of the schools, nor in the manuals or traditions of Congress. The one courageous, constructive party which our politics has known for half a century solved those problems so successfully that the regenerated and disenthralled Republic has grown and prospered under this new birth of liberty beyond all precedent and every prediction.

We gather fresh inspiration and hope for our tasks when the assembled representatives of this splendid and historic organization recall the names and venerate the memory of the brilliant Republican statesmen of the war, of reconstruction and of national development. Lincoln and Grant, Seward and Chase, Thaddeus Stevens and James G. Blaine, though dead, yet speak most eloquently in measures which have made our country prosperous and in policies which have given it world-wide power.

Now, as then, the unexpected has happened. The wildest dream ever born of the imagination of the most optimistic believer in our destiny could not foresee when McKinley was elected two years ago the on-rushing torrent of events of the past three months. We are either to be submerged by this break in the dykes erected by Washington about our Government, or we are to find by the wise utilization of the conditions forced upon us

how to be safer and stronger within our own boundaries, and to add incalculably to American enterprise and opportunity by becoming masters of the sea, and entering with the surplus of our manufactures the markets of the world. We cannot retreat or hide. We must "ride the waves and direct the storm." A war has been fought and won, and vast possessions, new and far away, have been acquired. In the short space of one hundred and thirteen days politicians and parties have been forced to meet new questions and to take sides upon startling issues. The face of the world has been changed. The maps of yesterday are obsolete. Columbus, looking for the Orient and its fabled treasures, sailed four hundred years ago into the land-locked harbor of Santiago, and to-day his spirit sees his bones resting under the flag of a new and great country¹ which has conquered the outposts, and is knocking at the door of the farthest East.

The times require constructive statesmen. As in 1776 and 1865, we need architects and builders. We have but one school for their training and education, and that school is the Republican Party. Our Republican administration, upon which a tremendous responsibility rests, must have a Republican Congress for its support in the next two years—two years of transcendent importance to our future. New York, imperial among her sister states in all which makes a great commonwealth, is still the pivotal State in our national contests. We, the delegates here assembled, have a very serious duty in so acting as to keep our old State and her Congressional delegation in the Republican column. Our thought, and our absorbing anxiety, is with whom as standard bearer can we most favorably present to the people these new and vital issues, the position of the Republican Party and the necessity to the country that it should receive the approval of the country. Friends and enemies alike join in the general satisfaction with the wisdom, sagacity and statesmanship of President McKinley. Our State has had a faithful, able and worthy representative in the greatest legislative body in the world in Senator Platt. We are justly proud of our delegation in Congress, and its influence in the constructive measures of Republican administration. We possess unusual executive ability and courage in Governor Black. A protective tariff, sound money—the gold

¹This was somewhat anticipative. The Spaniards did not evacuate Havana until January, 1899, when the remains of Columbus were taken by them to Spain.—*Ed.*

standard, the retirement of the Government from the banking business and State issues are just as important as ever. Until three months ago to succeed we would have had to satisfy the voters of the soundness and wisdom of our position on these questions. The cardinal principles of Republican policy will be the platform of this canvass and of future ones. But at this juncture the people have temporarily put everything else aside and are applying their whole thought to the war with Spain and its consequences. We believe that they think and will vote that our war with Spain was just and righteous. We cannot yet say that American constituencies have settled convictions on territorial expansion and the government of distant islands and alien races. We can say that Republican opinion glories in our victories and follows the flag.

The resistless logic of events overcomes all other considerations and impels me to present the name of, as it will persuade you to nominate as our candidate for Governor of the State of New York, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. If he were only the hero of a brilliant charge on the battlefield, and there was nothing else which fitted him for this high place, I would not put him in nomination. But Colonel Roosevelt has shown conspicuous ability in the public service for ten years. He was a soldier three months. It is not time which tells with an executive mind and restless energy like Roosevelt's, but opportunity. Give him the chance and he leads to victory. He has held two positions which generally ruin the holder of them with politicians and the unthinking. One was Civil Service Commissioner and the other Police Commissioner for New York City. So long as the public did not understand him there was plenty of lurid language and gnashing of teeth. The people are always just in the end. Let them know everything that can be said about a man and see all that the searchlight of publicity will reveal and their verdict is the truth. When the smoke had cleared away from the batteries of abuse they saw the untouched and unharmed figure of a public-spirited, broad-minded and courageous officer, who understood official responsibility to mean the performance without fear or favor of the work he had promised to do and obedience to the laws he had sworn to support. The missiles from those batteries flew by him as innocuously as did the bullets from the Spanish Mausers on the hill of San Juan. General Grant said, when

President, that the only way to secure the repeal of an obnoxious law is to enforce it, and that to refuse to obey it is to bring all law into contempt. Roosevelt adored General Grant. He did not make any of these laws. They were the work of both Republican and Democratic Legislatures. If Roosevelt had been Governor many of them would have died by his veto.

When he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy he was in a sphere more congenial to his genius and ability. He is a better soldier than he is a policeman. Life on the plains had broadened his vision and invigorated his youth. Successful excursions into the literature of the ranch and the hunting for big game had opened up for him the present resources and boundless possibilities of the United States. He was fortunately under the most accomplished, able, generous and indulgent chief in Secretary Long. A small man would have been jealous of this dynamic bundle of brains, nerves, energy and initiative, but our distinguished Secretary gave full scope to his brilliant assistant. The country owes much to him for the efficiency and splendid condition of our Navy. The Congressional economist has always put his knife deep in the naval appropriations. He will not do so any more. The Navy Department has always been compelled to enforce on the commanders of its men-of-war that they must be very careful of coal and powder. The permanent staff said to Roosevelt one day: "Dewey is wasting an unnecessary amount of powder in firing his big guns." "Let him shoot away," said the Assistant Secretary, "that is what the powder is for." If there had been no war, some Jerry Simpson would have moved an inquiry into the extravagance of the Navy Department in burning up the property of the United States and upon Roosevelt might have rested the condemnation of a Congressional Committee. But the waste was magnificent economy in producing the superb marksmanship of the gunners on our warships at Manila and Santiago.

The wife of a Cabinet officer told me that when Assistant Secretary Roosevelt announced that he had determined to resign and raise a regiment for the war, some of the ladies in the Administration circle thought it their duty to remonstrate with him. They said: "Mr. Roosevelt, you have six children, the youngest a few months old, and the eldest not yet in the teens. While the country is full of young men who have no such responsibilities,

and are eager to enlist, you have no right to leave the burden upon your wife of the care, support and bringing up of that family." Roosevelt's answer was a Roosevelt answer: "I have done as much as any one to bring on this war, because I believed it must come, and the sooner the better, and now that war is declared, I have no right to ask others to do the fighting and stay at home myself."

The regiment of Rough Riders was an original American suggestion, to demonstrate that patriotism and indomitable courage are common to all conditions of American life. The same great qualities are found under the slouch hat of the cowboy and the elegant imported tile of New York's gilded youth. Their mannerisms are the veneers of the West and the East; their manhood is the same.

In that hot and pest-cursed climate of summer Cuba officers had opportunities for protection from miasma and fever which were not possible for the men. But the Rough Riders endured no hardships nor dangers which were not shared by their Colonel. He helped them dig the ditches; he stood beside them in the deadly dampness of the trenches. No floored tent for him if his comrades must sleep on the ground and under the sky. In that world-famed charge of the Rough Riders through the hail of shot and up the hill of San Juan, their Colonel was a hundred feet in advance. The bullets whistling by him are rapidly thinning the ranks of these desperate fighters. The Colonel trips and falls and the line wavers, but in a moment he is up again, waving his sword, climbing and shouting. He bears a charmed life. He clips the barbed wire fence and plunges through, yelling: "Come on, boys; come on, and we will lick hell out of them." The moral force of that daring cowed and awed the Spaniards, and they fled from their fortified heights and Santiago was ours. "To lick hell out of them" is the fury of the fighting. It expressed the titanic rage of Washington at the treachery of Lee and turned the tide at Monmouth. It pierced like bullets the fears of the fleeing soldiers and sent them flying to the front and victory when Sheridan rode madly up the valley of Winchester.

Colonel Roosevelt is the typical citizen-soldier. The sanitary condition of our Army in Cuba might not have been known for weeks through the regular channels of inspection and report to the various departments. Here the citizen in the Colonel over-

came the official routine and reticence of the soldier. His graphic letter to the Government and the round-robin he initiated brought suddenly and sharply to our attention the frightful dangers of disease and death and resulted in our boys being brought immediately home. He may have been subject to court-martial for violating the articles of war, but the humane impulses of the people gave him gratitude and applause.

It is seldom in political conflicts when new and unexpected issues have to be met and decided that a candidate can be found who personifies the popular and progressive side of those issues. Representative men move the masses to enthusiasm and are more easily understood than measures. Lincoln, with his immortal declaration, made at a time when to make it insured his defeat by Douglass for the United States Senate, that "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free," embodied the anti-slavery doctrine. Grant, with Appomattox and the parole of honor to the Confederate Army behind him, stood for the perpetuity of Union and liberty. McKinley, by his long and able advocacy of its principles, is the leading spirit for the protection of American industries. For this year, for this crisis, for the voters of the Empire State, for the young men of the country and the upward, onward and outward trend of the United States, the candidate of candidates is the hero of Santiago, the idol of the Rough Riders—Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.

ROOSEVELT FOR GOVERNOR

SPEECH ON BEHALF OF THE COMMITTEE, TO NOTIFY COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT OF HIS NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR BY THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, AT COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S RESIDENCE, OYSTER BAY, LONG ISLAND, OCTOBER 4, 1898.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT: The Republican Convention of the State of New York has given to us, its committee, the very pleasant duty of notifying you of your selection as the candidate of the Republican Party for Governor of the Empire State.

No more representative body of our organization has ever assembled than the one which met at Saratoga on the 27th day of September. Its deliberations were characterized by great unanimity and enthusiasm. The delegates knew that the people had indicated with emphasis the man they wished for Governor of this commonwealth. They registered by your nomination the choice of the people, and the people will ratify that nomination at the polls.

We are entering upon a campaign of unusual importance to the State and the country. Old issues of sound money currency, and protection are as important now as during the presidential canvass, and new and startling ones are upon us. Our candidate has to carry with him a Congress which will support our President and his policies, and a Legislature which will elect a United States Senator. He is also to stand for a wise, firm, economical and public-spirited administration of the affairs of our State. In seeking the qualities required for this high office at this crisis, the Convention found a citizen who, to an extraordinary extent, possessed them all. The Legislature is the best school in which to learn the history and government of our State. The Police Commissionership of New York gives rare opportunities for studying one of the most difficult problems of our times—the administration of cities. The duties of Civil Service Commissioner, at Washington, bring before the Commissioner in close contact the statesmen, the policies and the power of the United

States. The Convention recognized that you had filled all these places with credit to the service, and distinction to yourself.

We need the support of all who believe in honest money and President McKinley, no matter what their previous party affiliations or factional differences. The man who organized and led a regiment composed of the most diverse and antagonistic elements in our social and industrial life, and on the muster out of his soldiers held their unanimous affection and esteem, is such a man. That, regardless of the privileges and comforts to which his rank entitled him, he took part in every labor, suffered every hardship, and shared every chance of the deadly fever with his men, proves him to be pre-eminently a man of the people. In looking for a leader in a fighting campaign, the Convention sought the young statesman-soldier who led the brilliant charge up San Juan Hill.

Senator Platt and I have been in politics for forty years, and our associates on this committee since they were voters. We have many times performed this duty, but never when we were more heartily in accord with the judgment of the Convention, or more certain of the election of our candidates.

CAMPAIGN SPEECH

CAMPAIGN SPEECH IN FAVOR OF COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT
IN THE STATE ELECTION OF 1898.

FELLOW CITIZENS: The election of a Governor, Members of the Legislature who are to elect a United States Senator, and thirty-four Members of Congress, give to this canvass both a State and national importance. The Democratic Party refuses to recognize or discuss national issues on the ground that only affairs of the State are involved. But the Senator who goes to Washington and the Members of Congress from this State who sit in the Lower House will not deal with canals, nor with Raines laws, nor with State matters. Should the next House of Representatives be Democratic, at home and abroad it would be accepted as a rebuke of the Administration and of the President; it would be regarded as again putting in peril the question of honest money which was supposed to have been settled two years ago; it would be regarded as reopening the question of a tariff for protection as well as for revenue, which was also supposed to have been settled in the last presidential election. The contrast presented by the uncertainties involved in the partial performance of Democratic principles in 1893 and 1894 and 1895 and the results for the last two years is one of the most interesting studies in American politics.

We are accustomed in the United States to great political and industrial revolutions; we are familiar with the car of progress moving at lightning speed; we have ceased to be astonished at marvels of invention or at extraordinary development in any part of the country or in any domain of production. Certainly what has transpired since November, 1896, astonishes even the American people. It does more; it astonishes the most imaginative and prophetic of them. It was not in the power of the human mind to conceive the wonderful and beneficial changes which would happen in twenty-four months. From industrial paralysis has come industrial activity; from labor vainly seeking employment has come employment seeking labor; from capital hidden and

locked up and unremunerative and worse than useless has come capital flowing into channels which add to the strength, prosperity and wealth of the whole country; from gloom we are in the light, and from despair we are happy. But this is not all. From an isolated nation, living within itself, seeking only the development of its own resources and unknown in the politics and policies of other countries, we have become, by a series of victories which surpass the achievements on sea or on land of any period, a great world power.

After the election of Mr. Cleveland, in 1892, I sat one evening on the porch of the White House with President Harrison, a statesman whose ability, whose genius for public affairs, whose wisdom have placed him in the front rank of Presidents of the United States. Before us stretched the park of the White House grounds, and the broad beams of the full moon were lighting the waters of the Potomac. He said: "The Republican Party retires next March from power, and the Democratic Party enters upon the control of Government. We are, at the close of this Republican Administration, at the highest development of American prosperity which the country has ever enjoyed. The mills, the furnaces, the factories, are all in full operation; the railroads are carrying to the extent of their capacity; labor is fully employed, and at better wages than ever before; our financial condition evinces the healthy state of our credit, and we have a large surplus in the Treasury. It will be for the Democratic Administration to surpass these results or retire from power. There is a post down there on the Potomac in which for many a year a notch has been cut to note the height of the waters at the season of the flood. The Republican Party has cut its notch on the post which marks the rising or receding flood of American prosperity." Well, gentlemen, the tide receded so far during the four years of President Cleveland that it required the telescope in the Lick Observatory to see that notch marked by a Republican President, and it is only after two years of Republican administration under McKinley that the notch is easily recognized by the naked eye.

It does not require much thought or great erudition to discover the causes of the disasters of 1893, 1894 and 1895. The necessities of the Civil War compelled the adoption of a high tariff to secure the requisite revenue. This policy so stimulated

American industry and enterprise that Republican statesmen, who were in power in every branch of the Government, felt that they should seize the opportunity to make the policy of the protection of American industries, the policy of America for Americans, the policy of making our country independent of the world in all that is required for the necessities or luxuries of our people, the permanent policy of our Government. Our revenue system under the leadership of John Sherman, Justin S. Morrill, James A. Garfield, General Grant and James G. Blaine, was so adjusted to the support of the Government and the development of manufactures that on the one hand the surplus of the revenues which flowed into the Treasury paid off two-thirds of the national debt, and on the other inventive genius was stimulated, and the capital and labor of the country found employment and happiness in improving old methods of manufacture and establishing manufactories in articles and fabrics for which before we had been dependent upon the Old World. The iron ore beds of the Northwest and the West, which had been worthless for centuries, were worked with such intelligence and vigor that we had reached almost from the bottom to nearly the front rank in this barometer of wealth, prosperity and employment. There came such a demand for the fuel stored for ages in exhaustless quantities in the bowels of the earth that our coal product grew up beyond that of all other countries except Great Britain. The cotton and wool, which formerly found their way in the raw state across the Atlantic, were being consumed in American mills to such an extent that their fabrics not only supplied a population of seventy millions of people, but were finding their way into the markets of the world. The same was true of developments in machinery, in electrical appliances, and in the manipulation and manufacture of agricultural and all other implements needed in the industries of man.

Then came the Democratic victory of 1892. The Democratic theorists who had been discussing for a generation in an academic way from the chairs of political economy in colleges and by essays in the magazines the problems of government, said: "Now that we have the opportunity let us bring about the millennium at once by putting into practice our theories." Then came the chaos of financial suggestion and the Wilson tariff bill. This was a bill drawn, as far as practicable, upon the lines

of free trade. Its authors avowed that its purpose was simply to raise revenue, and neither directly nor indirectly to protect American industries. It was both a failure and a success. It failed to produce revenue enough to support the Government, and succeeded in paralyzing the manufacturing interests of the country. The revenues under it were nearly \$17,000,000 a year below the expenditures and short of the necessities of the Government. The President was compelled to issue about \$262,000,000 of bonds, in other words, to run in debt and borrow money to meet current expenses—a process fatal to any business. The manufacturers and producers of iron, and coal, and steel, and cotton, and wool, and silk, and machinery, in fact of anything and everything, after thirty years working under a protective tariff, could not adjust themselves to the new order of things. Hence the mills closed, the furnaces went out of blast, the factories shut down, and the purchasing power of the people was suddenly partially destroyed. This reacted back at once upon agriculture. Wheat and corn and animals depreciated in value during the four years of Democratic rule to the extent of three thousand millions of dollars. The farmer who was in debt could not meet the interest upon his mortgage, and the farmer who was out of debt could hardly pay the running expenses of the farm. We were the same country, with the same population, with the same resources, with the same opportunities for enterprise, capital and labor in 1894 as in 1892. Then why should seventy millions of people suddenly be bereft of energy, and millions of the means of earning a living? It illustrates as never before in the history of an industrial nation, the yawning chasm between confidence and distrust. The failure of the Government to procure revenue for its expenditures created distrust; the unsettling of values by the Wilson tariff bill, by the destruction of the calculations upon which the buyer and the seller had before met and agreed, created distrust; the rampant schemes for changing the standard of value, for the issue of fiat money, for an impossible double standard, for giving silver a value by legislation which it did not possess in the markets of the world, by substituting promises for money, not only accentuated the distrust but plunged business men into despair.

It was while we were in the midst of these troubles that the world witnessed in our country an extraordinary psychological

exhibition. Political parties are prone to enthusiasm over their leaders and their principles. They have several times in our history been in conditions of revolutionary excitement, but for the first time in the records of representative government a great historical party—the Democratic Party—had in 1896 an attack of hysteria. This is a domain which has heretofore, in the pathology of medical books and the experience of married men, been exclusively confined to high-strung and nervous women. Terrible poverty and distress produced the Crusades, in which millions perished. They have led at different times fanatical religionists into the wilderness or upon the mountain tops or by the seashore to witness the end of the world. It has never before, however, captured a strong, healthy, vigorous organization, with its captains and its lieutenants, with its statesmen and its members. It is curious what pranks the imagination will play with men when it takes the place of reason. The “Demonetization of Silver and the Crime of '73” was a freak of the imagination. It solidified in political discussion into a wide-spread faith the conviction that a currency based upon silver, at sixteen ounces of silver to one of gold, was right, when in the open market it took thirty-two ounces of silver to equal one of gold. The idea that legislation could regulate the immutable laws of trade or standards of value was a freak of the imagination. It was supported with argument and logic by men of great ability and acute powers until it almost seemed the better reason, and was so taken by nearly half of the American people. Our Democratic friends are familiar in their party history with dramatic incidents in their national conventions, which surpass in excitement and absorbing interest the most wonderful creations of the stage. These dramas thus acted, with the whole country for the theatre, have produced startling results in the policy and Government of the United States. I need cite only the conventions which nominated respectively Douglas and Breckenridge in 1860, the convention which declared the war a failure in 1864, the convention which pronounced for free trade in 1892., and the convention which declared for free trade and free silver in 1896. The convention of 1896, which met in this city, had among its members many great men—men of national reputation, men who had won fame and leadership by their ability, wisdom, debating power and constructive talent in the national councils. But the convention



reflected the prevailing hysteria which had seized the party. Its platform was a hysterical platform. A young man of commanding presence and oratorical fervor brought the convention to its feet with a lurid metaphor, a metaphor of hysterics, and in such a convention the metaphor swept aside every statesman and every leader, and nominated its author for President of the United States. In the "Crown of Silver and Cross of Gold" we had in a moment the fruit of the genius and the revolution which seemed imminent under the leadership of our friend, Colonel William J. Bryan. The mistake of Colonel Bryan was the mistake of all young men who have made a discovery or promulgated a theory, of attaching the theory to a fact to demonstrate its success or their discovery to an argument to demonstrate its soundness. One of the most distinguished jurists in my State of New York said to a young lawyer who had just been elevated to the Bench: "In rendering your decisions, never give any reasons for them, and you will be thought a great Judge." When Colonel Bryan hitched silver and wheat together as a team that always trotted finely in double harness, he knocked the wind out of silver; when he stated as an argument for "sixteen to one" that depreciated values and poor markets always went with the gold standard he nailed his doctrine to a panic.

The political atmosphere was cleared of clouds, the financial atmosphere of distrust, the business atmosphere of despair, and the American mind of dreams by the election of William McKinley. The American people are the most intelligent and venture-some business men of any nation. If they can know the factors in the problem of success or failure they never hesitate to act. They realized instantly after the election of a Republican President that the protective policy would be re-established and our currency would remain stable on the gold basis. There is no marvel of electrical invention or appliance which equals the effect which this confidence had upon American industries. Mills started up, factories and furnaces resumed their activity, the old mines were set working and new ones were opened, and the farmer went joyously afield. The universal and profitable employment of capital and labor restored the purchasing power of the country. Wheat, in its upward flight, ran away from silver so rapidly that the white metal remained only the lining to a cloud. With remunerative prices restored to every farm product

there have been more mortgages paid off on the farms in the last two years than there were in the preceding five years. Impoverished but undiscouraged Nebraska and distressed Kansas were lifted upon these joyous waves of prosperity. The theorists will say that it is better to have low-priced wheat than to have dollar wheat and fifteen-cent corn than thirty-cent corn, and cattle and sheep and horses in the same ratio, because then the people get their food and their working animals the cheaper. But there is no possibility of good business when products are sold below the cost of production. They are so sold because the times are hard and everybody feels them. Food at half price at the grocers' or the bakers' is of no use to the man who is earning no wages; but when he finds employment, and constant employment, at full wages, then his demands and the demands of his family create the call upon the producer which makes both the producer and the consumer happy.

The bugaboo of the scarcity of gold to meet the standard of the world has disappeared in the increased supply. The demand for the precious metal stimulated activity and discovery, and the American mines alone have doubled their output in the last year, while a similar result is found in the gold coming upon the markets of the world from fresh discoveries in Africa and Australia. The gold in the United States Treasury under the conditions produced by distrust of revenue and currency ran down to \$42,000,000, but to-day the amount is \$223,000,000, the largest sum which the Treasury has ever held. Our imports have decreased \$148,000,000 since the inauguration of a Republican President, and our exports have increased \$200,000,000. We thus have an increase of the balance of trade in our favor of \$348,000,000, and the total debit of Europe to us is rapidly approaching \$600,000,000 a year. This \$148,000,000 decrease in imports during a period when we have been exceptionally prosperous is the most significant tribute to the workings of the system of protection of American industries. It means that American manufacturers and American workmen are producing that vast amount more of fabrics which were formerly bought on the other side and manufactured in the factories and by the artisans of other nations. It means that amount more of profitable employment for American labor; it means that amount more of the production within our own borders of the things that our people

need; it means the nearer approach to the dream of that greatest, most creative and far-sighted of our statesmen—Alexander Hamilton—of the independence of our country, for all that it requires, from the rest of the world. Our exports, rising to the gigantic figures of \$1,200,000,000 show the dependence of the world upon us for food and the entrance of the product of our factories into the markets of Europe.

Since the enactment of the Morrill tariff law during the Civil War the struggle of capital and labor in the United States has been to possess our home market. As our population has increased from thirty-five millions to seventy millions, this market has become the best in the world. Our people make more money and spend more, our artisans and laborers receive higher wages and spend them more freely, than those of any other country. When the struggle began between American labor and what it could do and foreign labor and what it could furnish at the close of the Civil War, the foreigner possessed the market in our country absolutely for most of the things which we needed, and to a large extent in the principal products required for the farm, for the home and for the factory. No one dreamed twenty-five years ago that it ever would be possible to export our textile fabrics or our steel, and yet to-day, so rapidly has the inventive genius of the American mind improved our machinery and the superior workmanship of the American artisans bettered our goods, we are not only becoming dangerous competitors with the nations of Europe right in their own homes and within their own boundaries, but we are to follow them across the Pacific and enter the human hive in the Orient. European statesmen look upon us with distrust and fear, not because of our Navy or the possibilities of limitless increase in our Army, but because they cannot see how they are to escape in the future their dependence upon the American farm and the American factory, or how they are to stand the perpetual drain from them back into this country of the only thing of value which they have to meet the balance against them, and that is gold. During the past two years they have returned hundreds of millions of railway and other securities. If our country had not been unusually strong, confident and prosperous, we would have been unable to absorb and pay for this vast investment, and the sudden unloading upon us of these stocks and bonds would have caused one of the worst panics

in our history. Every day we become more and more among our own people the owners of our railroads, of our telegraphs, of our mines and of our industries.

The country, with this continuing increase in supply from our own factories, and by our own labor of the manufactured articles which our people use, must soon face a method for raising the majority of the revenues necessary for the support of the Government from other sources than the tariff. Surely the adjustment of this tax so that it will raise the requisite revenue and at the same time give the freest play to the energies of the farmer, the business man, and the laborer, cannot safely be entrusted to any party but the Republican Party. The Republican Party is the one party in the last thirty-five years which has possessed the initiative, which has shown constructive genius, which has been able to turn panic into prosperity, which has devised the ways and means under every stress of peace and war to make our country strong and great.

For over fifty years American statesmen grappled with, but failed to solve, the problems of Cuba, Hawaii, and a canal through the Nicaraguan Isthmus. Hawaii seemed essential for the protection of our Pacific Coast, and Cuba, by its frightful misgovernment under Spanish rule, enlisted our sympathies and aroused our indignation. No statesman has ever doubted that, either possessed by us, or under our protectorate, it would be an invaluable acquisition to our power and a protection in the command which we ought to have over the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico. We have been serenely patient and self-content, while this irritation within a hundred miles of our shores has grown more and more acute year by year. The irreconcilable divisions in Democratic Cabinets made action on the part of our Government, either for the acquisition of Hawaii or for peace and humanity in Cuba, absolutely impossible.

There have been many wars among nations in the one hundred and twenty-three years since our Declaration of Independence. Napoleon attempted the conquest of the world for universal empire, and calmly boasted at St. Helena that he had only killed a million of men. Every European contest during this whole period has been for dynastic or territorial aggression. Our great wars have been wars of sentiment. They have demonstrated that sacrifices in the interest of liberty and humanity are

always justified by the results. It pays to do right. The War of the Revolution was waged upon a declaration of human rights, which has been the dream of the philosopher and scouted by statesmen, and from its sacrifices and its unselfish devotion to liberty was born a great nation. Our War of 1812 was for a sentiment to settle the right of search upon merchant vessels for subjects of other nations, that they might be impressed into the naval or military service of the country to which they owed allegiance. From that contest came a universal recognition that the deck over which floats the flag of a country is the territory of that Government. It made it possible for us to possess a great merchant marine. The cause of the Civil War was slavery. The impelling motive which brought it about was the prevention of the extension of that institution into the territories, and it ended in the emancipation of four millions of human beings. This sentiment cost on the one side and the other nearly a million of lives and \$10,000,000,000 in money. Such destruction of life and property would under ordinary conditions have taken any nation a half century to repair. What seemed a disaster became the greatest blessing to the Republic. The whole country felt the inspiration of liberty. Our people North and South became united as never before. The vast territories of the Northwest invited the emigrant, and out of them grew populous and vigorous commonwealths, and the new South discovered in free labor and the God-given opportunities of liberty its boundless resources and exhaustless productiveness. Certainly our example has demonstrated the truth of the Holy writ: "Righteousness exalteth a nation." The situation in Cuba, which island has endured all the horrors of internecine war for four years, became unendurable. We entered upon the war with Spain as no other country ever entered upon a war before, without any purpose of conquest or annexation, but simply to free this most beautiful gem of the Antilles from the horrors of tyranny, oppression and bloodshed. The first message which Inventor Morse flashed over the electric telegraph was the sentiment, "What God hath wrought." Surely the results of these hundred days are manifestations of an overruling and special Providence.

One of the most dramatic episodes in history is the one hundred days covering Napoleon's return from Elba and ending with the battle of Waterloo. In that campaign most of the results

of the French Revolution and the struggle of European peoples for liberty were wiped out. Monarchical institutions and the retrograde processes of Bourbonism were restored in every country, and much of the militarism and despotism of to-day are due to the victories of the dynasties in that one hundred days. How different the one hundred days of the Spanish-American War! At its close Cuba is free, Porto Rico is ours, the American flag floats over the Ladrones, two Spanish fleets have been destroyed and sunk with the loss of only two men, the Spanish power has been broken and her hold upon the Western Hemisphere severed, while the guns of Dewey have given to us the Philippines and opened the way to China. The people of Cuba are assured by us of liberty and law. This richest of islands and of countries, under the inspiration of peace and the opportunities of liberty, will attract from our shores tens of thousands of industrious and energetic citizens. It will become a paradise of happy homes and increase enormously in population and wealth. Whether it continues independent under our protectorate or comes, as I believe it will and must by the votes of its citizens, under our flag, instead of being a burden, it will mightily enrich our country, and furnish a market for the surplus of our farms and our factories. Porto Rico also, with its splendid climate and rich soil, is destined to invite from our country our people and our products. The responsibility of governing these countries and the Philippines is great, but the policy of governing them by recognizing the manhood of their peoples has never been tried. Louisiana was a problem different from the present because of the sparse population, though Florida was not much different with its Spanish peoples. The territories of Louisiana and Florida have become great, rich and growing States. American institutions have adjusted themselves to the government of Alaska, so that her people are happy, and each year her product is many-fold greater than her cost.

Power behind justice is a tremendous, most efficacious and rapid civilizer. Intelligence responds to education, opportunity quickens the mind and the ambition. The inhabitants of these islands will respond to the effort of a great, generous and free people to teach and help them to govern themselves. In the meantime their increasing productiveness, and the varying industries which will be introduced, will make these distant posses-

sions self-sustaining and sources of revenue. Not only that, but they will be the growing markets for our goods. Every one who is familiar with the Pacific Coast appreciates the limitations which are placed upon its opportunities by its distance from the markets, and the difficulties and expenses of transportation. The mountains of Oregon and Washington are full of coal and iron, but they cannot compete with the coal and iron east of the Rocky Mountains. California raises twenty millions of bushels of wheat a year, but its market is too distant for profit. We become masters of the Philippines and have the harbor for our men-of-war and our merchant vessels at Manila within striking distance of China, at the moment when that old empire is crumbling to pieces. One quarter of the inhabitants of this globe are within the boundaries of the Flowery Kingdom. Its inhabitants are among the most intelligent, frugal, industrious and adaptable people in the world. Thirty-three years ago, when a young man, I was appointed United States Minister to Japan. That country was still under the feudal system, and its army was composed of mailed warriors fighting with shield and spear. In that thirty-three years Japan has advanced in civilization, in education, in the use of modern appliances of steel and electricity, in railroads, in telephones, in manufactures, in armies disciplined upon modern methods, and navies built in the best shops of Europe—almost as far as the western nations of Europe have in six hundred years.

In the fiscal year ending June, 1898, Japan and China took from us sixty-two thousand tons of our steel, and would have taken twice or thrice as much if there had been the transportation facilities to carry it across the Pacific. The Chinese and Japanese are beginning to discover that our wheat flour can take the place of their rice, and last year they took almost 650,000 barrels of it. The open market of Japan and the opening market of China will absorb not only all the wheat now grown upon the Pacific Coast, but all it can possibly produce. That market will do more. Its demands will be so great for our steel rails, our machinery and electrical appliances, and our agricultural implements that, with a merchant marine upon the Pacific, Oregon and Washington and California will be in a few years among the richest and most productive States of the Union. There is in this trade the opening of a new field for labor and new opportunities for capital. The congestion of our market will be re-

lieved, causes of panics will be diminished, the fierce competition among ourselves will be lessened, the farmers of the West and the Middle West and of the Northwest will find themselves better able to compete in the markets of Europe with the Argentines, Russia, Egypt and India. The wheat of the Pacific Coast will go to the Orient instead of to Liverpool. Civilization and Christianity and orderly liberty, following the flag, will bestow inestimable benefits upon distant semi-barbarous and alien races. There will be to our own people the reciprocal benefits which come from a thousand millions instead of seventy millions of people wanting the products of our soil, the results of our agriculture, the output of our mines, and the surplus of our mills, our factories and our furnaces. This picture is not a fancy one; it is simply an enlargement—and a reasonable one—of the conditions which already exist. It is a picture which can only be painted by Republican artists; it is the statement of results which be brought about only by Republican policies. The intelligent optimist must work out these problems if they are to be worked out for the glory of our country. No moss-covered prejudices nor antiquated theories must curb this magnificent advance.

It has been estimated by one of the most intelligent observers in our country that three millions of dollars a year would furnish the subsidy which would put upon the Pacific Ocean the steamships, built by private enterprise, to carry this vast merchandise from our shores to the opening Orient. The party of Grant and of Garfield, the party of Hayes and of Arthur and of Harrison, the party of the great man who now fills the Executive office, is the party to which is to be entrusted the framing of the measures for our new condition, if we would succeed in opening the opportunities for the larger destiny of the United States.

“Trust the people” is the principle of successful politics and good government. A national party whose doctrines are the same in all sections of the country represents popular sentiment, but a party of divided counsels and hostile opinions dwells in the atmosphere of doubt. When it became necessary for the Cleveland administration to borrow money to carry on the Government, the President found the majority of his supporters determined to force the Government upon a silver basis; determined to hold up the Treasury until this concession could be secured. The result was an appeal to money centers and the control of

syndicates. Our Republican administration had to borrow money to carry on war with Spain. Its supporters were unanimous in maintaining the national credit and paying the national obligation in the standard currency of the solvent governments of the world. The President asked the people for a loan of two hundred millions of dollars at three per cent. interest. No one was permitted to subscribe for over five thousand dollars. The response was the most magnificent illustration of general confidence in the history of finance. Subscriptions for the bonds poured in like a flood and reached the enormous sum of twelve hundred million of dollars, or five times the amount wanted, before the doors of the Treasury could be closed.

Every holder of one of these bonds, to pay for which the man or woman has taken the savings of years of toil and self-denial from the stocking or the savings bank, is for the gold standard and honest money. The national credit, rising upon the returning tide of national confidence, has brought the price of these three per cents. up to the figures at which three years before the four per cents. were sold.

Republican initiative has rescued the Government from the perils which beset it under Mr. Cleveland. It attached to the War Revenue Bill a provision by which the Government can use its credit and make temporary loans at any time in the future. This will prevent any madness of the hour which has a majority in either branch of Congress from using the necessities of the nation to put its theories in practice. The Administration can meet the requirements of peace or war, until the people decide, after full discussion, whether they stand by old and tried principles of business or elect to follow after new ones.

Under the gold standard our currency has automatically adjusted itself to the needs of the country. It has been free from violent fluctuations. In 1800, with a sparse and scattered population and little internal trade, it was \$4.90 per capita; in 1870 it was \$20.57; in 1890 it was \$22.82, and in 1898 it is \$24.74, the normal increase always indicating and meeting the commercial demands of the country.

We rejoice in the strengthened bonds of national union. It was wise statesmanship and fervid patriotism which commissioned as Generals of our Army in the war with Spain, Joe Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee. The faded gray of the Confederacy

became a souvenir of a cause gallantly fought for and happily lost, and the blue of the Republic mighty and imperishable by the loyalty and love of all its citizens. But the obliteration of every vestige of the passions of the Civil War is only one of the fortunate results of this war. The growing friction between the East and the West has disappeared. The dude respected on the plains, and the cowboy cheered in New York, are only evidences of a far deeper and most beneficial sentiment. Hamilton Fish was the flower of generations of wealth, ease, culture, and elegant living. When he said to his wounded cowboy comrade, as the Mauser bullets whistled over and by them, "The protection of that tree belongs to you—I will fight in the open," in their blood was sealed the brotherhood of the East and the West. Along with the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava will live in song the resistless rush of the Rough Riders over the forts and entrenchments on the hill of San Juan. But that charge of the Rough Riders broke down every sectional barrier in our country. With the products of our soil and industries carried over the Atlantic to Europe and over the Pacific to the Orient, Chicago and St. Paul, St. Louis and Spokane, Duluth and Salt Lake City are no longer the centers of interior and isolated interests and opinions. They are the reservoirs and distributors of the world's commerce. A powerful Navy and an American merchant marine are as important to them as to New York or San Francisco, or to the Atlantic or Pacific Coasts. By the instantaneous contact by telegraph and cable of all commercial capitals, they are to be the ports from which fleets are to sail over every sea, laden with the products of American labor, to bring back the wealth that makes a prosperous people and happy homesteads.

We are fortunate in having for our candidate in this canvass a gentleman who has lifted it above the plane of partisan discussion into the pure atmosphere of demonstrated patriotism.

The Governor of the State of New York must be courageous, he must be honest, he must be familiar with public affairs of the State and in touch with the affairs of the nation. Three years in the State Legislature made Colonel Roosevelt familiar with all the duties of the gubernatorial office and with all the interests of our imperial commonwealth. As Police Commissioner he had an inside view, which few had the opportunity to secure, of the municipal problem and of the reforms which are necessary and

the amendments which may be required to the excise legislation of the State. As Civil Service Commissioner he was brought in contact with the members of both parties in both Houses of Congress and with the Administration, both under Republican and Democratic rule, while as Assistant Secretary of the Navy his energy and initiative were of incalculable value in preparing that glorious arm of our service for the splendid victories which it achieved at Manila and at Santiago.

As he laid down at once a lucrative office and the calls of a large family to give his life to the service of his country, and as he performed with magnificent courage the duties of a soldier in the field, so will he, if elected Governor of this State, meet every requirement which the most exacting citizen can rightfully expect.

ROOSEVELT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

SPEECH SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, PHILADELPHIA, JUNE 17, 1900.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: Permit me to state to you at the outset that I am not upon the program, but I will gladly perform the pleasant duty of announcing that New York came here, as did every other delegation, for Col. Roosevelt for Vice-president of the United States. When Col. Roosevelt expressed to us his wish that he should not be considered we respected it, and we proposed to place in nomination, by our unanimous vote, our Lieutenant-governor, the Honorable Timothy Woodruff.

Now that the Colonel has responded to the call of the Convention and the demand of the people, New York withdraws Mr. Woodruff and puts Mr. Roosevelt in nomination. I had the pleasure of nominating him two years ago for Governor, when all the signs pointed to the loss of New York in the election, but he charged up and down the old State from Montauk Point to Niagara Falls as he went up San Juan Hill, and the Democrats fled before him as the Spaniards did in Cuba.

It is a peculiarity of American life that our men are not born to anything, but they get there afterward. McKinley, a young soldier, and coming out a major; McKinley, a Congressman, and making a tariff; McKinley, a President, elected because he represented the protection of American industries; and McKinley, after four years' development, in peace, in war, in prosperity and in adversity, the greatest President save one or two that this country ever had, and the greatest ruler in Christendom to-day.

So with Colonel Roosevelt—we call him Teddy. He was the child of New York, of New York City, the place that you gentlemen from the West think means "coupons, clubs, and eternal damnation for everyone."

Teddy, this child of Fifth Avenue, was the child of the clubs; he was the child of the exclusiveness of Harvard College; and he went West and became a cowboy, and then he went into the Navy

Department and became an Assistant Secretary. He gave an order, and the old chiefs of bureaus came to him and said: "Why, Colonel, there is no authority and no requisition to burn this powder." "Well," said the Colonel, "we have got to get ready when war comes, and powder was manufactured to be burned." And the burning of that powder sunk Cervera's fleet in Santiago Harbor and the fleet in Manila Bay. At Santiago a modest voice was heard, exceedingly polite, addressing a military regiment, lying upon the ground, while the Spanish bullets were flying over them. This voice said:

"Get to one side, gentlemen, please; one side, gentlemen, please, that my men can get out." And when this polite man got his men out in the open where they could face the bayonet and face the bullet there was a transformation, and the transformation was that the dude had become a cowboy, the cowboy had become a soldier, the soldier had become a hero, and, rushing up the hill, pistol in hand, the polite man shouted to the militiamen lying down: "Give them h——, boys, give them h——!"

Allusion has been made by one of the speakers to the fact that the Democratic Convention is to meet on the Fourth of July. On the Fourth of July all the great heroes of the Revolution, all the great heroes of the War of 1812, all the great heroes of the War with Mexico, and the heroes of the War with Spain, who are not dead, will be in procession all over the country, but those mighty spirits will not be at the Democratic Convention in Kansas City.

There is one gentleman who is detained from there and from the welcome which they would delight to give him, but he is at present engaged in running a foot race, under the blazing sun of Luzon, from the soldiers of the United States. George Washington's spirit will not be there, but George Washington Aguinaldo, if he could, would be a welcome delegate. I would like to sit in the gallery and hear the platform read condemning expansion, with Jefferson coming out of the clouds and saying: "Who are you? Didn't my expansion become fifteen States as glorious and as great as any in your convention, and what are you condemning me for?"

Anti-imperialism? Because we are putting down an insurrection in the Philippines? And from the grave at the Hermitage comes the spirit of old Andrew Jackson, saying: "Get out of here, or by the Eternal, I will let you know who I am." Anti-acquisi-

tion of territory? And then comes a procession of Democrats of the old Democratic Party—Jefferson, Monroe, Polk, Pierce—pointing to Louisiana, pointing to New Mexico, pointing to California, pointing to Oregon, pointing to what has made our country first and foremost among the countries of the world.

And then will come the great card of the convention, headed by the great Bryan himself, "Down with the trusts!" "Down with the trusts!" And when the applause is over it will be found that the pitchers on the table have been broken by the clashing of the ice within, for that ice will be making merry at five cents a chunk.

I heard a story—this is a brand-new story—it is the vintage of June, 1900. Most of my stories are more venerable. There was a lady with her husband in Florida last winter, he a consumptive, and she a strenuous and tumultuous woman. Her one remark was, as they sat on the piazza, "Stop coughing, John."

John had a hemorrhage. The doctor said he must stay in bed six weeks. His tumultuous wife said: "Doctor, it is impossible. We are traveling on a time-limited ticket, and we have got several more places to go to"; so she carried him off. The next station they got to the poor man died, and the sympathetic hotel proprietor said: "Poor madam, what shall we do?" She said: "Box him up. I have got a time-limited ticket and several more places to go to."

Now, we buried sixteen to one in 1896. We put a monument over it weighing as many tons as the Sierra Nevada, when gold was put into the statutes by a Republican Congress and the signature of William McKinley. Colonel Bryan has been a body snatcher. He has got the corpse out from under the monument, but it is dead. He has got it in his coffin, carrying it along, as did the bereaved widow, because, he says: "I must, I must; I am wedded to this body of sin and death. I must, I must, because I have a time ticket which expires in November."

I remember when I used to go abroad—it is a good thing for a Yankee to go abroad—I used to be ashamed because everywhere they would say: "What is the matter with the Declaration of Independence when you have slavery in your land?" Well, we took slavery out, and now no American is ashamed to go abroad. When I went abroad afterwards, the ship was full of merchants, buying iron and buying steel, and buying wool and buying cotton, and all kinds of goods.

Now, when an American goes around the world, what happens to him when he reaches the capital of Japan? He rides on an electric railway made by American mechanics; when he reaches the territory of China he rides under an electric light invented by Mr. Edison and put up by American artisans. When he goes over the great railway across Siberia, from China to St. Petersburg, he rides on American rails, in cars drawn by American locomotives. When he goes to Germany, he finds our iron and steel climbing over a \$2.50 tariff, and thereby scaring the Kaiser almost out of his wits. When he reaches the great Exposition at Paris he finds the French wine-maker saying that American wine cannot be admitted there for the purpose of judgment. When he goes to old London he gets for breakfast California fruit, he gets for lunch biscuit and bread made of Western flour, and he gets for dinner "roast beef of old England" taken from the plains of Montana. His feet tread on a carpet marked "Axminster," made at Yonkers, N. Y.

Now, my friends, this canvass we are entering upon is a canvass of the future; the past is only for record and for reference and thank God, we have a reference and a record. What is the tendency of the future? Why this war in South Africa? Why this hammering at the gates of Peking? Why this marching of troops from Asia to Africa? Why these parades of people from other empires and other lands? It is because the surplus productions of the civilized countries of modern times are greater than civilization can consume. It is because this over-production goes back to stagnation and to poverty.

The American people now produce \$2,000,000,000 worth more than they can consume, and we have met the emergency, and by the providence of God, by the statesmanship of William McKinley, and by the valor of Roosevelt and his associates, we have our market in Cuba, we have our market in Puerto Rico, we have our market in Hawaii, we have our market in the Philippines, and we stand in the presence of 800,000,000 of people, with the Pacific as an American lake, and the American artisans producing better and cheaper goods than any country in the world; and, my friends, we go to American labor and to the American farm and say that, with McKinley for another four years, there is no congestion for America.

Let invention proceed, let production go on, let the mountains

bring forth their treasures, let the factories do their best, let labor be employed at the highest wages, because the world is ours, and we have conquered it by Republican principles and by Republican persistency in the principles of American industry and of America for Americans.

Many of you I met in convention four years ago. We all feel what little men we were then compared with what we are to-day. There is not a man here that does not feel 400 per cent. bigger in 1900 than he did in 1896, bigger intellectually, bigger hopefully, bigger patriotically, bigger in the breast from the fact that he is a citizen of a country that has become a world power for peace, for civilization, and for expansion of its industries and the products of its labor.

We have the best ticket ever presented. We have at the head of it a Western man with Eastern notions and we have at the other end an Eastern man with Western character; the statesman and the cowboy; the accomplished man of affairs and the heroic fighter; the man who has proved great as President, and the fighter who has proved great as governor. We leave this old town simply to keep on shouting and working to make it unanimous for McKinley and for Roosevelt.

McKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT

SPEECH AT THE MEETING TO RATIFY THE NOMINATION OF MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT AT CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK, JUNE 26, 1900.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW CITIZENS: I have attended nearly every national convention since I was a voter. Each of them had the peculiarities which made it an expression of the dominant sentiment of the times. After each one of them there were heart burnings to be allayed and enmities growing out of the hot contention of rival candidates, to be pacified. Even where they were most harmonious there was either open revolt or hostile murmur against the results. The Republican convention at Philadelphia is the first where there was no dispute, no rivalry and no contest for either President or Vice-president. But best of all the result of this conference of the chosen representatives of the party from every State and Territory has been accepted with joyful acclaim all over the country. There is not a sign of dissatisfaction, not a murmur of dissent anywhere. It is my habit to gather opinions from the citizen whom I meet and who generally knows me whether or not I do him. The cab man who drove me from the station said, "You have given us a fine ticket." The conductor on the Elevated Railroad said a "sure winner, Senator." The railroad men on the trains and around the Grand Central Depot acted and talked as if one of the happiest events possible had come into their lives. The men of affairs in the city said, "The convention has arrested distrust and restored confidence. With the reasonable certainty of the election of McKinley and Roosevelt, we can enlarge our business, engage in new enterprises, construct new factories and mills, open new mines and furnaces and build more railroads with the certainty that the investment of our money and the opportunity for larger employment for labor will depend entirely upon our wisdom and business sagacity and not incur the perils of political disturbance."

The home-coming of the delegates from a national convention

meets either a cheerful greeting or an ominous silence from neighbors and friends. But from Philadelphia the political pilgrims went to New England, to the West, the Northwest, the Mountain States, the Pacific Coast, through cheering thousands, greeted by happy men and women at the station, and welcomed with shouts of "well done" at home. Even the sheep, which in '96 were huddled out of sight, stood in flocks by the road side loudly expressing their delight with heads and tails up as becomes self-respecting and respected sources of American prosperity and national wealth. Very different will be the gathering on the Fourth of July in Kansas City. It must be a depressing sensation to be a member of a convention whose assembly creates alarm. Public men love to believe that their fellow citizens have confidence in their efforts eventuating in the public good. It is a new experience in our politics for the meeting of one of the great parties in national convention to produce in July an arctic chill. The election of Cleveland in '84 created no panic. His re-election in '92 with a Congress which would support his measures caused no immediate disturbance. It was only when Democratic measures of revenues and finance practically bankrupted the Government, impaired private credit and paralyzed business and industry that the country became alarmed. The alarm, however, only went so far as to repudiate the economic policies which on trial had proved disastrous failures. But when at Chicago in '96 the "Wild Men from Borneo" drove out of the party councils all its statesmen of approved experience, when they relegated to private life the Abram S. Hewitts, the William C. Whitneys, the Edward Coopers in our own State and drove from the party almost every man of national reputation in other States whose name on the ticket or behind the ticket was security for public safety, then there was a feeling that we were on the eve of a revolution.

Every citizen who is prosperous in his farm, in his factory, in his store, in his employment or in his workshop, is looking to Kansas City with fear. The utterances of the leader who is to control the deliberations of this body, give no hope of better times for any man who has a profitable business or a good job. Even the most optimistic Democrat believes and privately says that the election of Colonel Bryan would produce, at least for a time, possibly for two years, a suspension of new enterprises and a hand to mouth policy in the conduct of business which always

produces failures, poor markets and weak purchasing power. To-morrow I sail for Europe on one of the great steamers of the American Line, the *St. Paul*. Her speed and magnificent performance on the ocean are the triumphs of the American ship-builder. Innumerable times she and her companion ship have carried passengers and cargo safely across the great sea. If I should leave her in mid-ocean, with all her comforts, her luxuries and the certainty of her safety, and of her delivering me on time, and happy, on the other side, to take a raft for the purpose of paddling ashore on some unknown coast, or to be picked up by some wanderer on the wave, I should be furnishing an example for the voter who leaves the certainty of everything he cares for in this world, for himself and his family, by leaving McKinley and Roosevelt, for Bryan and Towne and the rudderless unknown.

In 1896 the Bryan managers in their advocacy of sixteen to one and a depreciated currency said, "This new policy will produce a panic but it will be only temporary, and then on the ruins of current business we will build for better times." The burned villages, the ruined farm houses, the people killed or fled, and the garden of Poland made a desert and a waste is the ghastly story of what is known in history as "peace at Warsaw." The Republican Party said to the people in '96, "We offer you no experiment but a statesman for candidate for President who as soldier, citizen and statesman, has performed distinguished services for his country. We promise you the policies and the measures which whenever tried have made the country prosperous, powerful and rich." The Democratic doctor said to the patient writhing in industrial and financial distress, "I do not know what is the matter with you, but the post mortem will tell and that will be a comfort to your children." The Republican doctor said, "I do know what is the matter with you. You are suffering from patent medicines given by a faculty which wants you to try more and more powerful ones, while we propose to throw away drugs and substitute air, exercise, sound political principles, healthy political activity and the massage of money-making, money-giving and employment."

A party deserves the continuing confidence of the people which fulfills its promises, but the promises must result in beneficial measures. We promised to place our country, now one of

the greatest of commercial nations, in harmony with its customers and with the markets of the globe, in unison with commercial nations, upon an equality for competition with its industrial rivals and competitors by adopting the gold standard of values. Against the protest and the votes of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives and the Democratic and Populistic Senators we have put this policy in clear and unmistakable language in the laws of the land. We have laid at rest the spirit and the ghost of double standards and changing standards which has disturbed our finances and been the fruitful source of panics for a hundred years. It is a curious fact in the evolution of nations to higher standards of living and of action, that invention and discovery meet the demands of the broader intelligence and the more exacting civilization. The demand for gold to meet the wants of the world in this rapid combination for its use has stimulated enterprise in the mountains of the United States along the rivers and on the coast of Alaska, in South Africa and in Asia until the production is equal to the demand of the present and so sure for the future that the fears of a gold famine are laid away with the terrors of witchcraft and the immediate conflagration of the universe. The response of our industries and our industrial conditions, the position we have suddenly assumed among commercial nations, the experience of our revenues under the Dingley Bill meeting all the requirements of the Government and a treasury possessing a large surplus, are an object lesson, never to be forgotten, or the vivifying and revivifying powers of the principles of protection. Against the annual deficiency and the increase of the national debt by the sale of bonds which marked and attended the modified free trade of a Democratic tariff for revenue only, stand in brilliant contrast our overflowing national wealth and the funding of our debt in bonds bearing two per cent. interest which already command a premium under the administration of William McKinley.

The war with Spain is one of the shortest and most brilliant chapters in the history of the nation. It was a marvelous exhibition of the limitless resources and resistless powers of the United States. In a hundred days the fleets of Spain had sunk before the guns of Dewey, of Sampson and of Schley, and the Spanish power, which had misruled for three hundred years, was driven from the Western Hemisphere, Cuba was free, and Porto Rico,

Guam, and the Philippines were ours. The Commissioners of the United States met at Paris the Commissioners of Spain. Spain, defeated and helpless, was at the mercy of the conqueror whose power she had provoked. The question of terms involved whether or not indemnity should be demanded beyond the property we had won. The Atlantic cable kept the American Commissioners in immediate touch with President McKinley; the world problem for his country was before him. He said this was a war unselfishly begun to free from intolerable oppression a neighboring people. It was not for conquest nor for gain, but its results having imposed upon this Government duties far beyond any dreamed of when the war began, we are pledged to the people of Cuba to guarantee them law and liberty until they can govern themselves. We have conquered Porto Rico and find the same oppression there. We will incorporate that island into the territory of the United States. We have conquered the Philippine Islands and find still greater cruelty there. We will hold those islands and give their people the blessings of justice, of protection for life and property, of law and liberty of which they never dreamed before. We have no desire to humiliate our enemy. We will give her twenty millions of dollars to compensate her for her own public property which is left on the islands. Porto Rico has already her own government. From the emergency fund, which was intended for war, the United States has contributed a million of dollars to save the people of that island who had been reduced to starvation by an unparalleled calamity of hurricane and flood. A wise tariff exempts every article which could be used in the recuperation of Porto Rican industries and the promotion of Porto Rican education, the revenues collected upon Porto Rican products in the United States are remitted back to the Porto Rican treasury and the government of Porto Rico, largely composed of its own citizens, can change this method of raising revenues for the Porto Rican government, for roads, for schools, for internal improvements and for development whenever it sees fit now. Though only a few months under American rule and local self-government, Porto Rico is rising from the ruins of her coffee plantations, of her sugar fields, of her tobacco crops and of her farms, to a condition of prosperity, of wealth and of distributed happiness among the people which she has never known before. In the Philippines there is left only

the mutterings here and there of brigandage. Filipino leaders and people are appreciating our good faith and experiencing the benefit of American rule. The propositions of pacifications for the few who are out, who are worth considering, have all been agreed upon, save one, and that is the expulsion of the Friars. It is not the policy of the American people to expel anybody, but under just and equal laws, impartially administered, to preserve rights and redress wrongs and compel everybody to respect the right and live in peace with everybody else.

“What is the use of the Philippines?” An immediate and unexpected use has developed within the last few days. That country is unworthy of its position among nations which cannot and will not protect its citizens wherever they are rightfully. Great Britain, Germany and France, Russia, Austria and Italy follow their people with the protecting power of their governments wherever they are. During the years when we had little or no Navy our merchants who were in places where revolutions imperiled their lives, were compelled to seek the protection of the consuls of European governments. The guns of Dewey in Manila Bay were heard across Asia and Africa, they echoed through the palace at Peking and brought to the oriental mind a new and potent force among Western nations. We, in common with the countries of Europe, are striving to enter the limitless markets of the East with the products of our skill and industry. Those people respect nothing but power. In the uprising of fanatics in China and the massacre and torture of foreigners, alike with Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen and Germans, the safety of the American citizen is involved. The missionaries and their wives and children from every religious denomination in America are there. American merchants introducing the industries of our Country are there. The students of our colleges utilizing their vacation for travel and study are there, the accredited representatives of our Government, its consuls, its minister and their families are there. There is no duty higher, no responsibility greater than that around them should be the protection of the American flag and the protecting arm of American power. Instead of being six thousand miles distant, as we would have been a year ago, we have an army at Manila and a fleet in its harbor within four days of Hong Kong. The moral and political effect of our ability to join at once with the civilized nations in this work of

rescue is incalculable. The American soldier and sailor arriving so speedily from our own territory is a demonstration which will advance our interests and procure for us a recognition which would be impossible otherwise in a half century of effort. The American representing America or engaged in trade which benefits his country will have among barbarous and semi-barbarous people recognition, position and influence beyond the dreams of diplomacy. I believe the Philippines will be enormous markets and sources of wealth to the United States, that their own people will be advanced in civilization and the benefits of self-government, but, beyond these considerations, which justify their retention, the part that they enable us to play upon the world's stage in this war of humanity, of the protection of the dearest rights of our people, of the rescue of our kindred and the position of our country among the millions of Asia compensate and justify their capture, the suppression of the rebellion within their borders and the holding of them forever as territories of the United States.

We have all seen the picture and felt quicker pulsations as we viewed it, of the period in the impassioned sermon of Peter the Hermit, when the knights gathered about him raised their standards and swore upon the cross to enter upon a crusade for the redemption of the Holy Sepulchre. That was a mission in an age of chivalry, and, from our standpoint of to-day, absurdities. This is an industrial age. All countries are brought together in the same markets, that is, all productive countries of high civilization by steam and electricity. At the Republican Convention in Philadelphia, when McKinley was nominated by a common impulse, the standards bearing the names of the States were torn from their fastenings and carried by enthusiastic delegates upon the stage and grouped about the American flag. It was the old medieval picture under modern conditions. No knights in armor, no serried hosts bent upon battle and slaughter but mighty States forming the American commonwealth pledging themselves about the emblem of their nationality to do earnest battle for the election of the candidate and the perpetuation of the policies which would carry the products of American mines, mills, factories and furnaces, the resources of American forests, the harvests of American fields, the results of American invention, the skill of American artisans across the seas to the other side of the globe.

Overproduction in all European nations lowers wages

for those who work, denies work for those who wish to work and produces starvation and despair. To escape from these calamities they are partitioning Africa, invading Asia, constructing great navies and feverishly pushing railways across the desert and plains of the eastern continent. With a production in the United States of two thousand millions of dollars annually more than we can consume, the United States also must have foreign markets to keep up its wage scale for its artisans and laborers and employment for its citizens. We have them by the victories of the Spanish War, we have them in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines. We have them in the open door in the East secured by the diplomacy of William McKinley and John Hay. The Democratic Party promises nothing but retreat—retreat, stagnation and decay. Anti-expansion, anti-imperialism, anti-militarism is their cry. Anti-expansion with Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Pierce and Polk all against them; with the fifteen States carved out of the Louisiana purchase; with fruitful Florida, taken from Spain, California and the Pacific Slope, New Mexico and Arizona crying out against their folly and their shame. Anti-imperialism when McKinley is doing no more and no less than did Jefferson, Monroe and Jackson; anti-militarism, when the soldier of the United States is rarely seen by an American citizen. But the deeds of the American soldier whenever his flag and his honor are at stake at Santiago, or San Juan Hill, at Porto Rico or in the Philippines find a responsive chord by every fireside in our land. Anti-trust, when the Republican Party, upon the report of the Industrial Commission, composed of all parties, will deal with the trusts at the next session of Congress so as to protect the people against all combinations which would corner the necessaries of life and to protect legitimate industry from ridiculous assaults which would produce irreparable disaster, suspension of business and paralysis of employment. I believe that the great safe-guard for the public in all corporations, in all concerns that live by a public charter, is compulsory publicity, frequent reports and punishment for false ones. "Light, more light" is the motto of safety. Every transaction of a corporation and trust should be as open as day for its stockholders, its bondholders and the public. This done, nine-tenths of the battle is won. Col. Bryan in his criticism of the Republican platform says that it straddles on the trust ques-

tion. When the Colonel writes the trust plank for the Democratic platform and presents it to the delegates at Kansas City he faces a situation.

Of all prophets and worthies of the Old Testament David with his Psalms seems nearest to our modern life. The chords of his harp as he touches them finds response in our daily condition. He evidently had in view with his prophetic soul the Democratic Convention dealing with the trust problem when he wrote the 73d Psalm. I commend to Colonel Bryan, who is learned in the Scriptures, as he prepares the trust plank with the situation produced by the Ice Trust in New York, to have before him the 18th verse of that Psalm, where David says, speaking of the Lord's dealings with certain men, "Surely, thou settest them in slippery places and casteth them down to destruction."

Well, my friends, I need not speak for the candidates. Their names are on your tongues and they are in your hearts. With the expansion of our territory, our power and our opportunity, our people have expanded. We are all broader and wiser men than we were four years ago. We are beyond the power for narrow men, narrow measures and little Americans to capture our judgment or our vote. We elected William McKinley believing he would make a good President. At the end of four years, during which he has had to solve the greatest problems of peace and war, he stands before the country and the world as one of the ablest and wisest of our Presidents and foremost among the rulers of the nations of the globe. We admired Teddy Roosevelt, the Assemblyman, for his courage and his "indiscretion"; Commissioner Roosevelt, of the Police, for reform which demanded executive ability, honesty and vigor; Roosevelt, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, who did much to prepare for the war which he favored and then modestly and firmly resisted the appeals of family and friends to take his chances as a soldier because he said, having urged others to make this fight, his place was with them. In the responsible office of Governor of the State of New York he too has expanded. He has been one of the strongest of the chief magistrates of the Empire State. His all-roundedness, his thorough Americanism on Fifth Avenue, on the ranch, on the battle field leading his Rough Riders, and in executive office standing up for what he believed the right, made him the idol of the great convention and led to the resistless

demand that the running mate for William McKinley, our great President, should be Colonel and Governor Theodore Roosevelt. Good-night, my friends, and good-bye. I never took a trip across the seas so proud of my country, so confident of my party, so hopeful of the future and so firmly convinced of the continuance of American prosperity, American good times and the hopeful and happy conditions of us all. Thank God, we are Americans.

FRIENDSHIPS OF POLITICS

SPEECH AT THE DINNER GIVEN BY STATE SENATOR MC CARTHY
TO THE SENATE OF NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 20, 1884.

GENTLEMEN: There is one theme suggested by a gathering like this upon which too little is said, but that little is pure misrepresentation. It is the comment that friendships in politics are impossible, and that the relations of men active in public affairs are more selfish, uncertain, and treacherous than in any other department of life. Those of us who have been practical workers for years know how false is this generalization. When a man has passed forty years of age the friends of school or college days are dead or lost. These fierce competitions of business, with its sharp and merciless struggle for the mastery, confine one's confidence to his partners of the hour. Old associates die, and after the tears of the moment they are forgotten; they move away, and after the embrace and good-by comes oblivion; they become bankrupts, but our sympathy and regrets do not reach our pockets or transfer our capital to their use for the restoration of their fortunes. So that men would be left without any of the unselfish attachments of youth, without that enthusiasm for a man or a cause which makes the term "the boys" equally applicable to the young and the old, and become isolated, narrowed, dried up within the family circle, were it not for the associations of politics. Believing in the same principles, members of the same party, inspired with that *esprit de corps* which, in all ages, has formed, in time of trial, heroes, patriots, martyrs, men work together in the caucus or convention, fight together at the polls for the triumph of a common cause, and shout or share in victory or defeat. They will open their pocket-books to contribute money, and close their places of business to give their time for candidate or friend without hope or expectation of any other reward than his success. They will endure discomforts, hardships, travel, rough riding over country roads to elect a favorite. They will make exertions and sacrifices to help a companion who is down, when business and other friends pass by on

the other side. From such men, sure of the attachments behind them, and in close communion with the popular pulse, comes our best statesmanship. They may be new to public life, but they are familiar with public affairs, and take broad and healthy views of current questions. Great popular convulsions have occasionally projected into representative positions the dainty gentlemen who ignore politics and despise politicians. Their work is worthless and their careers visionary. Their ignorance makes them the easy prey of sharpers, their vanity and opinionatedness keep them above and beyond popular sympathies and desires. Their perpetual posings as probable Governors or Presidents render them the most unsociable and uncomfortable companions of all human creatures, and the closest communion with them which is either possible or desirable is the opposite side of a ten-acre lot. Our host of to-night, who has full rounded the Psalmist's span of threescore and ten, with his mental and physical vigor unimpaired, overcoming the ordinary and usual cares and weaknesses of age by active interest and participation in the living issues and contests of the day, surrounded here by colleagues who, without regard to party affiliations, are his personal friends, and sustained at home by hosts of men who have become attached to him by a half-century of political warfare, is a splendid example of the preservative and conservative tendencies of the friendships of politics.

BANQUET BY THE REPUBLICAN CLUB

SPEECH IN RESPONSE TO THE SENTIMENT, "THE YOUNG MEN IN POLITICS," AT THE BANQUET GIVEN BY THE REPUBLICAN CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, AT DELMONICO'S, FEBRUARY 12, 1887.

GENTLEMEN: I am glad these toasts are beginning to assume some relation to the gentlemen who are to respond to them. When Senator Hawley, whose sentiment was "Lincoln," started off with mine of "The Young Men in Politics," and Senator Hiscock took up Governor Foraker's subject, "The Republican Party," and Foraker started out on Hiscock's demesne, "The Empire State," I began to think the honored guests had been exchanging speeches, and became alarmed about my own. Governor Hawley eloquently remarked that it was the greatest of distinctions to be a private when everybody was a titled officer. Then I am the most distinguished man upon this platform, for all the other gentlemen but myself are governors, senators, or generals. I have found during the evening that conversation was impossible, because if I began a question, "Governor," the answer came in chorus from the dozen of them about me. I was recently in a Southern city and the landlord said to me: "*Colonel Depew*, if you desire recognition in this town, and to bridge over the bloody chasm, always remember that every citizen is either a general or a judge."

The youthful vigor of the Republican Party was never better shown than in the vigorous and magnetic eloquence which has electrified us to-night. It has been worthy of the most heroic period and most inspiring achievements of the grand old party. It is impossible for me to voice the encouragement and hope which come to us whose lot is cast in a district where the enemy beat us nine times and count us out the tenth, when we listen to the aggressive eloquence from you gentlemen of the West, who win nine times, and the tenth get there just the same.

It has always been the custom in companies of veteran politicians to call upon "callow youth," with its want of opportunity

and experience, to speak for the young men in politics. In this instance and upon this line the selection has been well made. I see about the gentlemen who were famous twenty-five years ago, and the time required prior to that to reach their then high positions, no man living remembers. I have always found that when a life-long office-holder loses the confidence of his constituency, or exhausts the patience or generosity of the appointing power, he at once violently projects to the front the bald and frosted pate and calls upon the young men of the State to rally for the reform of the party.

What is age? What is youth? They are purely relative terms. It is not a question of years, but of grip. The college professor of forty who despairs of the party and votes with the enemy is fifty years older than Hannibal Hamlin at eighty, who dispenses with an overcoat. The hot and turbulent blood of early manhood forces the pace so rapidly that it is necessary to put on the brakes, but when middle life is passed, the man who resists most successfully the waste of declining years, the indolence which comes from comfortable positions, the temptations for ease and for pleasure, and who, with all his powers, keeps himself vigorously, actively, and industriously alert and abreast with the living issues, questions, and controversies of the day, carries with him longest the bloom and the efflorescence of youth. The two men who are the most important factors in the destinies of peoples and in the politics of nations, are Bismarck at seventy-two and Gladstone at seventy-eight.

There are crises in the history of every great people when conservatism is a convertible name for treason; when the lines of old party associations and affiliations are the boundaries of the dungeon; and when fidelity to ancient principles and precedents creates the conditions of an inquisitorial torture which leads to certain death. Twice only in the history of this people have these conditions existed, and each time they have led to a union of the young men of the country, and to the projection into the foremost ranks of politics and of statesmanship of the young men of the nation—namely, in the Revolutionary Party of '76 and the Republican Party of '56. The one struck out first for Republican government, and then for independence and nationality. The other struck first for the union of the States, and then for

the union of the States only upon the basis of universal liberty and the equality of all men before the law.

If the nation would remain free, its young men must be the most important factors in its politics and its parties. They alone possess the element which overturns rings and upsets combinations and all other artificial creations for the suppression of popular sentiment. They alone possess that quality so necessary at times where audacity leads caution, and imagination and enthusiasm command judgment. The day that marks such a distaste for politics and public life, such a disappearance of activity in the affairs of the State and of the Government, as will make it bad form and unpopular for young men to be active, will mark the decadence to be followed by the overthrow of the liberties of the country.

Tens of thousands of young men stand every year upon the threshold of manhood, and must make their choice of the parties with which they shall cast their lots and activities. The elements which win them are the traditions and inspirations of the past and the promise of the future.

The Democratic Party presents nothing in the past thirty years of its existence to inspire the imagination, to appeal to the enthusiasm, or to warm the patriotism of youth. The ingenuous young voter looks back among the public men of that organization to find that, while they were able statesmen, the conditions of their position, the necessities of their organization, the frightful results of their affiliations, compelled them to be eternally the drags upon the wheels of progress and a hindrance to the development of the prosperity and the moral influences of the country. They had necessarily to seek to thwart and defeat the party of progress, and so they were always years behind the sentiments, the needs, and the aspirations of the people. He looks over their public declarations and finds their speeches an arid waste, in which the dry bones of previous conditions are rattled over and over again—bones belonging to the principles which had been buried by the Civil War ten thousand feet below the surface of the earth.

He turns, on the other hand, to the Republican Party, and he learns that it was born in the inspiring sentiments of free soil and free men. He studies the history of its founders, and finds that most of them lived up to within the period when he could know something personally of their greatness and participate in the

national mourning at their demise. There stands before him that rough, strong, grand figure, whose rise from among the people, whose great heart, great mind, character and achievements had made for him the first and most enduring fame among the statesmen of his generation—Abraham Lincoln. He looks for constructive statesmanship which can create in national exigencies out of bankruptcy, of lost credit, the means for carrying on great and expensive warfare, and there looms up the figure of Salmon P. Chase. He finds that the hands of the Republic were tied by civil war; that the monarchies and despotism of the Old World were plotting for the overthrow of the Republic and the destruction of liberty on this side, which reacted on the other; and he reads of the brilliant diplomacy, the successful leadership, and the wonderful acquirements of William H. Seward. He naturally turns to the halls of Congress, and there discovers the tribune of the people, who voiced in most eloquent and enduring language the moral sentiment for which men were sacrificing their lives upon the battlefield—in Charles Sumner. His inquiries as to the military glory of the Republic are at once confronted with the history of that great soldier who commanded the largest armies and won the most victories fought in the greatest cause of modern times—General Grant.

But the past alone will not retain his allegiance or keep his vote. The surging elements of our industrial and material conditions form the sea upon which he must find the ship that can carry him to prosperity and to safety. He looks out for that organization which is constructive and creative; which can understand the needs of sixty millions of people and legislate for their wants. If he finds no organization equal to this great task and trust, then the young men of the country will unite and form one. But the Republican Party has always been, and is to-day, the only organization which puts into the practical form of legislation the principles that develop and promote American industry and care for American labor. It is not enough, however, that American industry should be protected; that the conditions should be created where capital can safely be invested in mines, in factories, and in mills; but that some party either exists or will be created which can solve so successfully the distribution of wealth, the responsibilities of capital, the remunerative employment of labor, as to bring about in all the great industrial centers of the land

harmonious relations between the employers and employees, and prosperous and happy conditions for all classes of workers.

There is a young man in politics who now occupies the exalted position of President of the United States. He is not yet recovered from one of the delusions of young Democratic politicians, that the fulfillment of the roseate and reform promises of the campaign necessarily loses him the confidence of his party. He finds that just in proportion as he attempts to solve the question of revenue and tariff, upon which depend prosperity and employment, does he offend one section of his party; just in proportion as he reaches sound positions upon currency and finance does he alienate another portion of his party; and when he carries into practice the Civil Service promises which the Mugwumpian reform placed so acutely in his letter of acceptance and platform, does he find himself deserted by the whole of his party. So that, as he loyally rises to the highest and best conditions of his early promises and hopes, does he become the most lonesome statesman in America.

I remember that I was once a pall-bearer at the funeral of one of the leading citizens of Peekskill. Noticing that the carriage was plunging wildly and likely to upset, I looked out and saw that the horse attached to the hearse was running away and galloping across lots, while we were in reckless pursuit. I called to the driver to hold up, but he only answered, as he gave his team the lash: "Mr. Depew, you were born in Peekskill, and you ought to remember that it is the custom in this town for the mourners to follow the hearse." While the Democratic hearse is being frantically driven now in the woods, now in the open, and now on the road, to suit every condition of grief there may be behind, the Republican procession moves grandly forward in harmonious columns and with equal step along the broad highway toward better government for the nation and freer and happier lives for the people. Well, gentlemen, the Republican Party have not now the responsibilities of power. They will secure them only through the aid of the generous and ingenuous youth who this year and next year are to become the first voters of the country. They are coming from the fields, the workshops, and colleges, and they will be found in the ranks of our party of progress. The past of the party is absolutely secure. The present of the party is fully abreast of the needs and aspirations of

the people. In the future of the party I hope for success in 1888, when the grand old organization, resuming the Government of the country, which it so admirably administered for a quarter of a century, will for another equal period exhibit in the administration of affairs its unrivaled genius for promoting the development, the prosperity, and the liberty of the Republic.

BUSINESS MEN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION

ADDRESS AT OPENING OF THE DOWN-TOWN CLUB OF THE BUSINESS
MEN'S REPUBLICAN ASSOCIATION. NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 23,
1889.

GENTLEMEN: This is the first time I ever had the pleasure of listening to my own speech and I think that it was pretty good. I do not see why I should have been advertised as the principal speaker to-day when your president, Mr. Whitney, who is said to be my double, preceded. He, as "other speakers," came to see me, to see what was the object of the meeting and what was the line of thought. The result of my suggestions to them is that no line is left for me. There are twenty-five gentlemen here, every one of them loaded—I mean with speeches. It is unnecessary to remark that the rest of you are loaded with other things.

This is a Protection association, and yet I am assured by the management that within these walls the necessaries of life will be furnished at moderate prices, and to-day they are free. But the effect of this free lunch upon the finances of the club has settled the club against free trade forevermore. One of the best developments of this canvass, one of the best indications of wise activity in national politics, is the organization of clubs like this all over the country. We have hitherto labored under the impression that politics was a matter of national concern once in four years. During six months of heated contest we have discussed political principles. Parties have been joined much as in the old Volunteer Fire Department days. The young men enlisted in the company, and then came the enthusiasm for the machine, for which they would give their time, sacrifice their business, and if necessary their lives.

But we have passed the shouting period. The fires were put out twenty-five years ago, and now we are engaged in building the structure in which we the American people are to live. We must look after its convenience, its comfort, its sanitation, its architectural unities, and that can only be done by thought, study

and experience. We have almost forgotten during the previous period of the history of the country that it is we, the people, who have created these United States and we, the people, are the Government of the United States. It was made clear during the last canvass more acutely than ever before, to every man in the country, no matter what his vocation or pursuit, that politics was his private concern and his personal business.

We all of us found out that in every manufactory, every firm, every office, every farm, is a silent partner whose administration largely governs our profits and prosperity and that a silent partner is the Government of the United States. We can not expel the partner, nor can we get rid of him; and if he manages his affairs in such a way that it is not in accord with our business, then there is a paralysis of industrial interests, and bankruptcy and ruin for everybody interested, and that constitutes the whole people.

Now we have awakened at last to the fact that the active partners must band together to control this silent member in their own interest, and we who are gathered here, representing a larger constituency all over the United States, believe that the management of the policy of that silent partner should be in the hands of men who are of our faith and belief, the statesmen of the Republican Party. We have established these clubs all over the country, because we accept through them the campaign of education. During six months of every four years it is not possible calmly to discuss political questions. The writer is heated, and the reader is red-hot. The orator is enthusiastic, and the audience are passionate adherents of his faith. There is no calm consideration. It is impossible.

At that period we are all devoted to candidates and to success, and the conditions for argument, conviction and conversion do not exist. But that party will hereafter govern this country and have control of the Government which recognizes that politics is part of our every-day life and that during the interval when there is no canvass, no heat, no excitement, no immediate object to be gained, is the time to educate and gain voters.

We here—the Republicans of the city of New York—hold a position different from the Republicans of any other part of the United States. I do not except the Republicans even down in the so-called "Rebel" States. While we may not have our ballots reversed, or our vote intimidated, yet we live here in the presence

of such an overwhelming majority against us that it requires courage, hopefulness, devotion, to stand up and continue the fight. We have not the excitement of the possibility of the honors that come in local contests which inspire Republicans in other sections of the United States. We have only the feeling and belief that in the triumph of Republicanism in the State and the Nation is our triumph, our interest, our welfare, and therefore we struggle, we contribute our money, we give our time, we found these clubs, we distribute our literature, that we may keep the majorities in New York and in Kings County so low that New York shall be kept in the Republican column and the country governed on Republican principles.

Our friends the enemy have thoroughly understood, in the city of New York, the value of organization and of constant effort to keep their large majority. In every ward there is a club. Every local politician has his association. The Alderman Muldoon Association may be given to picnics, to dancing and to free fights, but it is understood that every man gathered within its fold is safe for the Democratic ticket, local, State and National, every time. Now, then, we want to supplement the Muldoon Association by associations of intelligence. There is in this city, and it was developed during the last canvass, a hunger and a thirst for truth, and the truth comes when passion has abated. In my judgment, one of the very best things that happened during the last canvass was the development of the business man in politics. The business man heretofore has despised politics except during a canvass. When one of his associates was active in public affairs, the word passed around that his credit should be curtailed, and that he ought not to be trusted. It was understood that a merchant was neglecting his business if he was a worker in politics, and his name constantly associated with public interests.

But business men have learned that public business is their business, and unless it is attended to their business will suffer. This almost universal consensus of opinion among merchants and professional men, which put a stigma upon politics and honest efforts to improve them has tended to degrade public life. But the appearance of the business men in the last canvass has raised the standard. The formation of clubs like this will keep elevating and broadening it.

We have had the scholar in politics, and every commencement

oration for the last twenty-five years has had for its central thought the scholar in politics. But the scholar in politics has turned out to be a critic or a Mugwump. He can pull down, but he cannot reconstruct. He can take the linch pin out of an axle so that the wheel comes off, but he cannot run the machine. Now the business man in politics brings to their conduct business ideas and principles. The management of the Government is the chief concern of an industrial people. This campaign has developed the business orator, the dry goods orator, the lumber orator, the iron orator, the woolen orator, and the marble orator, with more cheek than them all. It has developed the business musician. Men who never knew before that they had a tenor or a soprano voice have delighted listening thousands, and the development of lung power which they called music has produced magnificent results.

It is a well-known fact that religion and politics go hand in hand together. The man sound in politics lives a decent and respected life in this world, and if his religion is sound he is all right in the next. We have proved the one, and we believe the other. Now, the evangelical churches discovered long ago, that if they wanted to capture sinners they must go where sin is, and they came down among the business men; and the result is that they established the Noonday Prayer Meeting, and every man knows that it is the best ally for all the practical purposes of religion that the churches have in this city. There are no rented pews, and Williams is not the sexton. Employer and employee, merchant and clerk, millionaire and laborer, kneel side by side, and in the opening of the vision of the larger world, where all will be equal, they see their common origin and end, and it bridges over the chasm.

It explains and harmonizes differences. It brings labor and capital nearer and together. It makes employers more considerate. It makes the employee more faithful, with larger opportunities for development into better conditions of employment and of capital.

So in politics, the establishment of the down-town meetings during the last canvass, all over those districts which were red-hot with Democracy was among the agencies—and the best—for success. I do not care what any man may claim as to what he did in winning this election. I concede it all to him. I do not

care what any organizations claim as to what they did in winning this election. I concede it all to them. Without what all did, we could not have won. But if the down-town business associations had not organized, if these three hundred daily meetings had not been held, if these services of speech and song had been abandoned, we would not have carried the election.

It was like bringing truth and light into the Dark Continent of Democracy. These business men were the Stanleys and the Livingstones, and they took their lives in their hands—more or less—and discovered that the American citizen, no matter what his birth or nationality, no matter what his station in life, apprehends that he is a sovereign, and delights to be instructed in the duties of a sovereign. Acting upon these principles the down-town business organizations and meetings kept down the majority in the city, carried the State of New York, put it in the Republican column, placed Harrison and Morton in the presidential and vice-presidential chairs, and brought the country back to sound principles of finance and of industrial administration, there to remain while the campaign of education continues.

Now we open this club, and within these walls great work will be done. Here we will welcome Republicans from Republican strongholds of the West and of the Northwest; Republicans from the disheartening conditions of the South; Republicans from the stern realities of New England and Republicans from the Territories which are preparing themselves to be Republican States. They come here without acquaintances to transact their business and to go home, regarding New York as a political and social waste. We will teach them that in devotion to principle under discouraging circumstances New York is a political paradise and a social heaven. They will go from here inspired and enthused for work in their own neighborhoods all over the United States, and this will be a centre of missionary influences which will pervade the country.

But it will accomplish more. The antagonisms and the hot competitions of modern business make us all savages. The line of profit is so small that we march to it over the dead bodies of competitors. The race is to the strong and to the swift. Success comes to the hardest head and the best armored and steeled heart. Under these conditions we retrograde in our business life, and it affects our social relations. We go back to the condi-

tions of the primitive ages of the world, when every tribe regarded the member of every other tribe as an enemy to be killed, and the tribes were business organizations to earn a living and get rich. But men who have hated each other in business come within the walls of this club with business dropped at the door. They come here because they find that the tariff may be assailed, which affects their interests; because they find that men may be proposed for office who are hostile to good government; because measures may be promoted which are vital for their salvation. They meet here under social conditions, in the interval of business at noon, after business in the afternoon, and each one of them discovers that in every enemy is something which he needs.

They rub together, elbow to elbow, shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, and they form here the best and most lasting friendships from the union of honest men who are working for a common purpose which they believe best for the country. From this club will go out influences which will make every member a better man, a better citizen, larger hearted and more liberal, thinking better of his neighbor and forming friendships which will be to him the very best of his acquisitions, so long as he and his friends may live.

And now, gentlemen, by virtue of a commission which I have just received from the newly elected President of the United States, I declare this club opened, and in the name of Benjamin Harrison I dedicate it to good fellowship and sound politics. This meeting of the club will serve as an earnest to him that the criticisms, the forebodings and the prophecies of our enemies, who have during all these months been declaring that the Republican Party cannot survive success, is upon the eve of disruption, and about to be rent asunder by internal discord, are false, and that it is still the old Republican Party, whose spirit rises above success or defeat or the desire for office, or personal aggrandizement, or advantage, and which holds above all, as the surpassing motive for effort, for sacrifice, for fidelity the good of that party, in which is bound up the best interests of the country.

By the opening of this club now at a time when no one knows whether his wishes as to the distribution of the offices by which power is to be exercised during the next four years will be regarded, or what may be his personal disappointment or the dis-

appointment of his friends; we send to the President of our choice this unanimous message: "We believe in the Republican Party now and forever. We believe in you, Benjamin Harrison, the President of our choice, and under your leadership, we, of New York, expect to march on to future victories."

PROTECTIVE TARIFF LEAGUE

LETTER READ AT THE DINNER OF THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE
TARIFF LEAGUE, NEW YORK, JANUARY 17, 1889.

TO CORNELIUS N. BLISS, ROBERT P. PORTER, AND OTHERS,
COMMITTEE: Gentlemen, I deeply regret that I cannot be with you this evening. I wanted by presence and speech to pay tribute to the high purpose and splendid work of the League. By its efforts the cause of protection has become a question not of the welfare of certain industries, but of national prosperity. Protection could not hope for a sure and permanent place in the policy of government so long as it was represented only by the isolated organizations of specific manufacturers. If it were a matter of temporary expediency and not of principle, its fortunes must fluctuate and its existence be brief.

But at the critical period, the League came into existence. It understood from the beginning that the fascinating generalities of free trade, which had captured colleges and were penetrating schools, must be met by a clear presentation of both theory and practice. It boldly and confidently challenged discussion and nailed its propositions upon the doors of the universities. It stated doctrines which were of equal moment to capital and labor, to manufacturers and artisans, to the farmer, the merchant, and the men in liberal professions. It laid the foundation of the college which teaches the sources of wealth, the elements of progress and the processes of development for the United States. It taught how to maintain credit, expand business and give remunerative employment to labor.

The situation was critical and the peril great; but the League has made a gallant fight and won a great, but not decisive, victory. The enemy are alert and audacious; they have the devotion of propagandists and the fire of crusaders. They preach an industrial millennium for America in the revolution of its industries, and pray for the speedy death of manufacturers and mill owners, that they may hear the resurrection trump and review the ghostly procession of the happier and more spiritual workers

who are to succeed them. They create a Utopia which is very attractive to the young and the chair of political economy in most of our seats of learning is occupied by a professor of the ideal Republic. You, gentlemen, represent the real, living, throbbing necessities of to-day.

You have given form and charm to homely argument and solid truth. You represent the educational work which must be enterprising, must cover the whole country, must be self-sacrificing and vigilant. A splendid type of that sense and enthusiasm which organizes victory, and keeps the forces of protection in invincible array in your president, Mr. Ammidown. The League, with its missionaries, its tracts, its orators, its branches and its penetrative power, is and will remain, a superb monument to his ability and tireless energy.

The hopeful promise of the future is the advent of the business men in politics. In giving their time, services and money to the preparation and dissemination of educational literature as actively in the intervals as during the campaigns, they are assuring to an industrial people a sound and safe government.

Yours very truly,

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

KEYNOTE OF THE CAMPAIGN

SPEECH BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION AT SARATOGA,
NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 25, 1889.

GENTLEMEN: I return you my thanks for the high honor conferred in selecting me to preside over your deliberations. It is always a valued distinction to be the chairman of the Republican Convention of the State of New York. We are here, taking one of the too infrequent days from our vocations and pursuits, to give our time and our best thought to the higher and more important business of the Government of the commonwealth. The familiar truism, that the prosperity and happiness of the people depend upon the wise administration of public affairs, applies with unusual force to our action.

The experience of a quarter of a century has demonstrated that the prosperity, development, and progress of the Republic and the highest interests of our State are best promoted and advanced under Republican administration. It is, therefore, for us to labor with enthusiasm and harmony for Republican success. The disputes and controversies among Republicans, the accounts of which fill the air, exist only in the imagination, and come only from the pen and tongues of the enemy. When we last met the Democratic Party was in possession of the Government, and for four years had enjoyed its long-coveted opportunity to prove its capacity for affairs. After a long and exhaustive debate in the press and upon the platform, the power has been taken from its hands. That its twenty-five years of tutelage in the minority and under the very best instruction of Republican statesmen have failed to teach it the art of government, is due to inherent and radical defects in the organization and its principles, which are beyond the cure of the most honest purposes, the wisest brain.

The surplus in the Treasury which has constituted so large a factor in discussion and attempted legislation, still exists and increases. All parties admit its evils, and its dangers are transparent, but the surplus is not money to be trifled with or squandered. It belongs to the people and represents unnecessary taxá-

tion. The effort to dispose of it led to the extraordinary attempt to put in force the experiment of reducing the surplus by destroying the prosperity which made it possible. For the first time in fifteen years the Republican Party is in possession of the executive and legislative branches of the Government. The whole responsibility now devolves upon them. They accept it, confident in their ability to wisely administer the trust. The surplus will be reduced by removing unnecessary burdens and adjusting taxation upon proved lines. Internal revenue and tariff laws are never perfect, but when they are reformed by their friends, as they will be during the coming session of Congress and the Administration of our President, the modifications will remove unnecessary taxation without impairing in any degree the bed-rock principle of protection of American industries.

The persistency and consistency with which, under one name and another, the advocates of free trade march, year after year, to certain destruction, extort a compliment for their courage if they fail to obtain one for their discretion. It was said of the old Bourbon that "he learned nothing and forgot nothing," but his modern prototype has changed the phrase so that it may read: "He learns nothing, but forgets everything." The failure of experience to improve or convert him from the error of his doctrines and their fatal results reminds me of a small boy whom I once saw wandering among the smaller gravestones in the Peekskill churchyard. Forgetting the fate of his companions who lay under the sod, he was serenely eating green apples and singing "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

But now that it is for us to administer affairs, the needs of the country demand that the protection of our industries shall be supplemented by every effort to find for their surplus a market. The consistent policy of the Republican Administration for a quarter of a century has not only advanced and maintained wages, but promoted productiveness, invention, skill, ingenuity, and good workmanship, so that our output is beyond our home needs and must compete in foreign markets with the manufactures of the Old World. The most interesting part of the great International Exhibition at Paris to an American are the palaces erected by the South American republics, and their contents. Absolutely unknown to us, immigration and enterprise have stimulated in these countries—our neighbors—an industrial develop-

ment in the last ten years more rapid than our own. The whole of this vast and marvelously increasing trade now belongs to Europe. Eight years ago an eminent Republican statesman foresaw the advantages of a closer alliance with these countries, and endeavored to bring it about. Now he finds himself again the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the President who appointed him, a broad, comprehensive, and liberal-minded statesman, in full harmony with his views.

The Monroe Doctrine, when enunciated seventy years ago, became the common faith of all political parties in this country. The danger then was that the young and weak nationalities which asserted their independence might fall under the domination of European and monarchical powers, and the United States Government said in emphatic language that it would never permit European governments to overthrow these republics and gain a foothold upon these continents. But the rapid and peaceful evolution in the material conditions for half a century have given a larger scope and grander meaning to the famous Doctrine of Monroe. It will find expression in the Congress which our Administration has invited to meet next month at Washington, in which will be represented the republics of North and South America. It will be a permanent political friendship and the closest commercial alliance among all countries on the Western Hemisphere.

There are two principles of the Republican creed which the party will neither surrender nor compromise nor abate. It will march with them as serenely to defeat as to victory, knowing that truth is eternal and in the end will prevail. These two principles are the integrity of the ballot and the purity of the American home. Unholy combinations in which vast pecuniary interests insult the equal protection of the law granted to all legitimate pursuits by throwing their power and their money into the scale of one party or the other will, in the end, succumb to the rising and resistless tide of public honesty and virtue. The party which went cheerfully and repeatedly to disaster, and finally extirpated slavery, which under all discouragements and horrors successfully fought the rebellion and saved the Nation, and which, upon the untried fields of reconstruction built this magnificent, expansive, and unequalled new Republic, will not cease agitation and reassertion and effort until the ballot-box secures the honest ex-

pression of the popular will and the liquor traffic is placed under proper control.

Had the laws prepared and presented by the Republican Party in relation to high license been placed upon the statute-book of our State, one-third of the saloons would have already been closed, thousands of wrecked homes would have been repaired, and other thousands of young men would have been saved. The burden of taxation resting upon farm and homestead and business would have been lightened, and millions of dollars would have been flowing into the State Treasury.

The truism that the ballot is the safeguard of liberty has a larger meaning, not often discussed. Ours is a Government by majorities. We have no other means of ascertaining public opinion and obeying its will in the enactment of proper measures. The education of our people is to accept the verdict and cordially acquiesce, but if the verdict of the majority is tainted with fraud, then our scheme of government has failed, and there is nothing but anarchy to replace it. The triumphant and confident majority, repeatedly cheated out of its rights, is a danger too appalling to contemplate. It is the duty of Congress, as well as the State, to see that this momentous question, which cannot be obscured by epithet or party shibboleths, shall be so settled that the count is beyond dispute, the voter free from intimidation, and the safeguards thrown about him which shall place his vote beyond the reach of threat or purchase.

The Republican Party emphatically reaffirms its previous declarations upon the questions of Civil Service Reform, and the laws which are on the statute book on this subject will be carried out in their letter and spirit by the present Administration.

Six months have elapsed since we elected to the Presidency Benjamin Harrison. He came into power under difficulties which have not attended any other Republican Administration since Lincoln's. His Republican predecessors found the National House furnished with modern views and progressive ideas, and their duty was their preservation and enlargement. But General Harrison found his filled with a curious collection of useless antiquities and patent political panaceas. It became necessary for him first to send the antiquities to the lumber-room and empty the vials of their dangerous mixtures. The first cruiser launched under the new Administration, surpassing the record

and bewildering the senses, is the happy harbinger of a new Navy, which shall redeem the credit of America upon the seas and protect a commerce which is to embrace the world.

In Europe this summer I met many statesmen of the Old World, and found among them a fresh apprehension and a profounder respect for American statesmanship. The conduct and the issue of the negotiations of the Samoan difficulty had impressed them with a new idea, that in all matters which concern the interests of the Western Hemisphere the United States was a power whose wishes were potential. The accomplished work of the first six months and its promise for the balance of the Administration lead us, the Republicans of New York, to reaffirm our faith in the principles enunciated at Chicago, and our confidence in President Harrison.

RATIFICATION OF THE TICKET

SPEECH AT MEETING TO RATIFY THE REPUBLICAN STATE AND COUNTY TICKETS, CARNEGIE HALL, OCTOBER 23, 1895.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I am glad to meet the Bowery in Carnegie Music Hall. It speaks hopefully for the 5th of November when you walk all this distance and take your seats in these surroundings. If the Bowery is all right, New York is all right. I have found in the experience of a long life that if you wish to know how elections are going you don't find it out at hotels or clubs or parties or balls, where fashionable folk are, but you find it out by calling on people in the factories, workshops and farms.

Campaign committees are useful, newspaper reporters are indispensable, but they don't constitute the entire public. The old writer who wrote that liberty must always be on the alert or it would be in danger struck the real keynote of reform.

We are between the most revolutionary canvass of recent years—the last one—and the presidential election. It is the calm which follows and precedes the storm. In politics it is only in a storm that the right prevails. The forces which tend to good government are always quiescent and apathetic. The elements which live by politics, and fatten on spoils, and are leeches upon the Treasury, are ever alert and active. No truer line was ever written than—

“Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is ever won.”

The average citizen, having taken the time from his business and family which led to such a phenomenal victory as that of last fall, imagines that he has done enough for a term of years, and the country is safe; but while the patriot citizen sleeps the Devil is awake, or if he sleeps it is with one eye open, and the other eye is on the sleepy citizen. When the citizen snores it is the trumpet call of the Devil to victory.

It was no accident which overthrew the ring in Brooklyn, beat

down Tammany Hall in New York, captured Buffalo for honest government, and elected Levi P. Morton by 150,000 majority. It was an awakening, and more than an awakening—a distinct development. The pendulum swings to radicalism and conservatism, to the control of municipalities and States by rascals or incompetents and their rescue by the people.

It is hope, faith and inspiration that each revolution is a distinct advance upon the last. The victory of 1870 which overthrew the Tweed ring spent its force, and was lost in less than a decade; but every one who went through that period and the present one recognizes a broader and more universal and firmer grasp by the people of their own affairs.

The problem of municipal government has both vexed and appalled the wisest of our statesmen. Twenty-five years ago the belief was all but universal, both in the city and in the country that this city would be hopelessly in the hands of thieves and thugs unless controlled by the country. A quarter of a century—1870 and 1892 in Brooklyn, and 1893 in the other cities of the State—has cultivated a preponderating opinion that the cities should govern themselves.

The overwhelming sentiment of the hour is Home Rule. The Democratic Party has paraded for years as the exponent of this doctrine. It has cried at all times, and in all places and through every organ of expression: "If we were in power we would give to the great cities of the State absolute Home Rule"; and yet, though they frequently had power they never gave it. The first distinct measure of Home Rule came from the Committee of Seventy in 1870, and a Republican Legislature and Governor. Three years ago the Democratic Party had the Governor, the Assembly and the Senate by a fraud, but they had the Senate.

Then was their opportunity to carry out their pledges for Home Rule, but instead they enacted a series of laws which violated the principle in every form, and concentrated power in the creatures of the Legislature and took from the electors. They handed Troy over to the thugs, Lansingburg to the appointed inspectors, Buffalo to the ring, and Brooklyn to the powers which had so long controlled and abused it.

When the Republicans by the revolt which followed these outrages became the masters of the Constitutional Convention they adopted the principle of separating municipal from general

election and referring all bills to the Mayors of cities for their approval, and thus put Home Rule of the cities into the fundamental law, where it cannot be changed for twenty years.

We have tried time and time again, and the reformers of all parties have assisted us in trying during the decade of Democratic rule to have municipal separated from State and National elections. The city is purely a business concern. The opening of streets and avenues, paving and guttering, and sidewalking and sewerage and water and parks have nothing to do with the tariff for the currency. They are purely matters of sound business management, and upon the manner in which they are managed depend the taxes and the business prosperity of the city.

The honesty of the police, the integrity of the courts and the enforcement of the laws are not matters of party principles, but they are the very life of municipal government, comfort and safety. We do not assert that the magnificent results in Brooklyn, in Buffalo, in New York and in the State were wholly due to the Republican Party; but we do say that the Republican Party was in its entirety on the side of reform, and the reform elements of all parties assisted in giving us our phenomenal victory.

We do say that the Republican administration, assuming the responsibilities of power under these conditions, has so administered municipal and State affairs as to deserve the continued confidence of the State.

After two years of Mayor Schieren with publicity, efficiency and integrity, the characteristic of his government, no sane citizen would want to return to the rule of Boss McLaughlin and his friends. After a year of Mayor Strong, with all the partisan criticisms with which he has been subjected, no citizen who values his rights or his liberty would care to return to the government of Tammany Hall.

Mr. Gladstone once said to me that if he had to select from all the years of recorded time the half century in which he would live his active life he would select the half century in which he had lived, because it had been fifty years of emancipation.

If the "Grand Old Man" were in this Imperial City of New York and had read the revelations of the Lexow Committee, and then studied the result of one year of reform government in every department of this town he would declare that of all the enfranchisements of the most eventful half century in the history

of the world there was no more significant nor beneficent emancipation than that which the voters of the city of New York had secured to themselves by their votes a year ago.

The London *Chronicle*, which is the organ of the Radical and Democratic forces which are struggling for the emancipation of the British people from the domination of classes and of privileges, said in an editorial the other day: "One obstacle which Radicalism and Democracy could never argue down nor overcome in the Old World, was the bad administration and maladministration of New York and its sister cities in the United States; but that the redemption of the city and the success of its redeemers in municipal government was becoming a potent agency in the hands of the friends of liberty in every country of the World."

What is the contention of Tammany Hall in the present canvass? It is that the city government is too good, and the people of the city are not good enough to appreciate it. They say, "Yes, the police did exact from business men tribute for violating city ordinances, but the business man wants to pay tribute and violate the city ordinances."

They say, "We enacted laws which should stand upon the statute book as monuments for our devotion to morality and religion, but to be administered in the interests of our friends and for the punishment of our enemies; and that is what the people of this town want." When we were in power," their organs cry, "there was liberty in New York, personal liberty for all who voted our ticket, while these reformers violate the personal liberty of everybody who violates the law."

There is no more beautiful cry than that of liberty and personal liberty. Our ancestors threw the tea into Boston Harbor on a question of personal liberty; but this is not a question of tea, except for our Mayor. There never has been in the politics of the State or in any campaign such dishonest juggling with an issue as the Democratic management of the excise question.

Whose personal liberty is interfered with by the enforcement of the Sunday law? There are 10,000 liquor saloons in this city, with two barkeepers to each saloon. These barkeepers can now go with their families for rest and recreation on Sunday, and instead of an infringement of their personal liberty they are free.

There are several thousand fewer men who are arrested and locked up in jail on Sunday for being drunk who are now with

their families enjoying in a reasonable manner the Sabbath day, and in a condition on Monday morning to resume their work. Not much trouble about their personal liberty.

There are several thousand less in the hospitals having their faces criss-crossed with court-plaster and their heads sewed up and their eyes painted—who are at their homes on Sunday, and at their work Monday morning, and enjoying the benefits of personal liberty. The proprietors of the saloons may have their profits curtailed, but they are free to enjoy Sunday, and while it may be to them an expense, it is not an infringement of their personal liberty.

When Governor Hill uttered his battle cry that Sunday should be as free as any other day for the sale of liquor, and liquor should be as free of sale as any other commodity, we all supposed that the Democratic convention when it met would make that issue; but when these bold warriors of open saloons on Sunday met at Syracuse they had heard from the churches of all denominations, they had heard from the homes and the families, and they rushed panic-stricken into the presence of their leader and said: "If you put into the platform what you have declared in your letter and your speeches the Democratic Party will be wiped out of existence." And so they made this platform: "We are in favor of the law which absolutely prohibits the sale of liquor on Sunday, but we are against its enforcement." Said old 'Squire Schnediker, before whom in my young days as a lawyer I was trying a case, "The Ten Commandments are fust rate for election day, and the women and the boys; but when 'tain't election day and the women and boys ain't looking on give me temptation and plenty of it."

As the battle is placed before us to-day the only reason advanced why our city government should go back to conditions that made it a by-word and a reproach, why we should go back to the old police methods, with all the results exhibited by the Lexow Committee, and all the results which are being exhibited by the Commissioners of Accounts, is that Tammany will not repeal the closed saloon law on Sunday, but will not enforce the law against Tammany liquor dealers.

When the lynchers left the road agent hanging to the telegraph pole, and the Coroner cut him down, and the people began to crowd around to see this curiosity and terror of the community,

the Coroner yelled at the top of his voice "give the corpse a chance to breathe!"

The Republican Party is not responsible for this excise law. It was passed by a Democratic Legislature and signed by a Democratic Governor, and it was approved by the liquor dealers of the State. It was worth 20,000 votes in this city to the Democratic Party. On one corner of the block would be a Democratic saloon keeper and on the other corner would be a Republican saloon keeper. The Democratic saloon keeper, if his Democracy was of the right stripe and his contributions satisfactory, could run an open saloon all day Sunday, while the Republican or anti-Tammany or State Democrat or Grace Democrat saloon keeper had his place shut as tight as a drum, and if he sold a glass of whisky his home for the next thirty days was Blackwell's Island. It was no violation of personal liberty to lock up that Republican saloon keeper.

There should be such legislation upon the excise question as will remove this matter of liquor selling from politics. It has been done in Ohio, and it can be done in New York. I do not share in the fears of those who are afraid of local option. I saw local option work twenty odd years ago, and its operation in the towns of the State was eminently satisfactory.

Let the principle of home rule have perfect sway; let the people be the judges themselves of these questions which so nearly affect the sobriety and the law and the order of their communities. I would like to see an excise law framed upon proper principles submitted to the people of New York. I would like to see the question of free liquor selling and modified liquor selling and no liquor selling on Sunday submitted to the people of this town.

I trust that the Legislature will do something in that direction. Let that vote come at a time when the minds of the citizens are free from the agitation and discussion and decision of the questions which divide the great parties of the country. You would see in this city such a campaign of education and emotion as has not been known since the Civil War.

There would be such a union of creeds and faiths, of the Catholics and of the Protestants and of the Hebrews that the foreigner in our midst would believe that the millennium had arrived. The labor unions would be all alive. The women

would hold their mass meetings, the mothers and the wives and the sisters and the sweethearts, and the vote when taken would, in my judgment, be one of the most emphatic and astounding verdicts ever rendered in a great community. It would be a magnificent demonstration of the power of popular liberty and a superb refutation of the belief that the crowded populations of great cities are not capable of governing themselves.

We hear on this question and on all local questions too much of German-Americans and Irish-Americans and Italian-Americans and Swedish-Americans and French-Americans. The one thing which makes the immigrants who come here to better their condition or for civil or religious liberty entitled the day they are naturalized to every privilege and every liberty under our Constitution which is accorded to the men whose ancestors have been here for three hundred years, is that when they are naturalized they cease to be of any other nation, of any other government or allegiance except that of America.

On all these questions which are political and affect the government of cities and of the State and of the Nation, we are not voting as Europeans, but we are voting as Americans. And voting as Americans we consider for a moment what is this much-abused American Sunday. We are told that it stands for blue laws, for Puritanism, for bigotry, for the denial to the citizen of his liberty and of his rights.

Liberty is the granting of such privileges to the citizen as do not interfere with or offend all the rights of his fellow-citizens. There is no country in the world where the Sunday is freer, its rational enjoyments of every kind more open and more generous than in America, except in the open and continuing sale of whisky all day long.

My fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers on both sides were the products of American Sundays, and so by heredity and training am I, and no man will charge me I think with bigotry or fanaticism, with sourness, or mental or moral or physical dyspepsia. If any human being has a good time, exerts himself to get all the fun there is out of the world, and to help his fellow-citizens get all the fun they can out of the world surely I do.

And yet I would sooner drop out of my life everything which contributes to it than to lose from it the American Sunday. Most of you have been born and brought up in the country, and

have come to the city to earn your living and make your careers, and therefore this experience will be yours.

From five years old to fourteen I had as distinct a dislike to the American Sunday as a New York liquor dealer—I was compelled to go to church and sit in the high-backed pew and have my ear pinched by Deacon Boudine when I was relieving the good parson's sermon by some frivolity with the little girl who sat beside me—and to add to this discomfort was the Sunday-school and the catechism and the verses of the Bible and of the hymn book, which had to be committed to memory; but much that I have that is worth saving was due to that training and that influence.

From fourteen to twenty-two I looked forward to Sunday as a day of superb delight. After the services all the pretty girls were in the vestibule, and I walked home with them to discuss the sermon. In the afternoon we were among the wild flowers in the fields or in the shade of the woods, still discussing the sermon—or something else—and after the evening service of song in the church, or of music in the house we continued to discuss something else and the sermon.

Launched out in the world to secure a place and make a career, Sunday was the sunbeam of the week. Then from the toils of the great city the old homestead opened wide its hospitable doors to the returning boy. The noonday dinner with the brothers and sisters, and the aunts and the uncles all around in its earnest discussions, in its anecdotes and narrations of incidents and adventures, in its hilarity and merry companionship, was a feast of reason and a flow of soul.

In the afternoons the free air of the country gave the ozone for the battle of life again in the city; and in the evening the old and the young gathered by the piano with the old familiar songs and hymns with which the house had resounded for generations. Having passed the zenith and reached the mellower period, I go back still on Sunday to the village, and first to the cemetery to visit my dead, the country cemetery, which has about it nothing which is sad or gruesome.

Prattling childhood to vigorous manhood and beneficent old age are there, and every week I am nearer to them, and I walk and commune with them in the quiet of that American Sunday, to return again to the noonday dinner with the children and the

grandchildren about, and all the merry, innocent and hilarious life, remembered so well for so many years, with the country air and the country people of the afternoon, and the songs of the evening, with the spirit voices mingling of those who have gone before, to take up on Monday morning again business and its cares with a surer confidence and a firmer trust that life is worth the living; and the best day in the year, and the best day of the year anywhere in the world, is the American Sunday.

Macaulay once said that the British public could be relied upon to make fools of themselves once in seven years. As we are superior of all other nations, even in our folly, it has taken over four times seven years for the American people to make fools of themselves. It took from Abraham Lincoln to Grover Cleveland; but when we did we beat all creation in that line as in every other.

I remember a party of disgusted Europeans who told me that a Yankee was among them who tried them out by bragging that America had longer rivers, greater lakes, higher mountains, finer game, stronger men, handsomer women, and better institutions than any country in the world, so they conspired one night and gave him some knock-out drops, and then put him in a coffin, and in a shroud, and carried him to the graveyard.

They hid behind tombstones to see what he would do when he woke up, and whether the spirit of brag would not be taken out of him; but when the citizen came to he arose in his box, just as the gray streaks of dawn were appearing, and he said: "Well, I reckon this is the resurrection morning, but these durned foreigners are sleeping yet, and America is the first to arise."

I do not believe that there is any American, no matter what his politics, who is out of an idiot or an insane asylum, who has not been for at least a year past honestly admitting to himself and with himself that he is entitled to the designation of Doestick's favorite character, whom you will remember was Mr. Damphool.

The country was in the height of prosperity, and never had been so well before. Everything tended to national wealth and individual prosperity, but we were offered a new nostrum, which was to add to our vigor and health, and so our people elected a Democratic President, a House of Representatives and Senate in order to try the nostrum of Tariff for Revenue Only.

Up in the graveyard of the old church at Peekskill is an ancient tombstone, and upon it is inscribed "My name is Nancy Higgins, my age is 55, I was well, I took Dr. Huffcutt's nerve destroyer and blood exterminator to make me weller, and here I am."

Professor Wilson did the business and earned a British banquet. Twenty millions of dollars out of the American farmer and wool grower and into the pockets of the British manufacturer; and looms and spindles and tin plate factories and furnaces going in the Old World in place of increasing the happiness and prosperity of our own country, are the industrial results of the Wilson and the Gorman and the Cleveland experiment.

For every year on the average of Republican rule we paid off \$64,000,000, and in no year was there a deficiency of revenue. Republican administrations met the obligations of the Government from moneys in the Treasury, while the Democratic administration meets them by selling bonds. A tariff for revenue only is demonstrated to be a tariff for deficiency, and a tariff for revenue only for those who have the financial ability to negotiate the Government loans.

Prior to the Civil War there were three great crises in our history when we added to our national debt; first was the Revolutionary War, the second the War of 1812, and the third the war with Mexico. Uncle Sam foots up his accounts and says: "The war of the Revolution ran me in debt \$75,000,000, and what did I get for it? I got this Republic, with all its then possibilities and its present realities. The War of 1812 ran me in debt \$60,000,000, but what did I get for it? I got freedom of the seas, the recognition of the American flag the wide world over and the admission by every government of the earth that the deck of an American man-of-war was the inviolable soil of the United States. The Mexican War cost me \$50,000,000, and what did I get for it? I got California with its golden coast, its mineral treasures and its agricultural resources; I got New Mexico, with its limitless opportunities for the expanding of population of my country.

"Two years of Democratic administration have cost me just about as much as these three experiments, and what have I got for it? I have got two years of experience."

I am not much of a believer in the "good old times." When

the times are out of joint I want to see the broken limbs of the body politic mended and reset. No Democrat and no Republican will recall in future years the Speaker of the last House of Representatives, or its leaders on the floor, or its leaders in the Senate, or its presiding officer; though they may remember the President, and all Americans in a year from now will strive to bring back the flush, the prosperous, the glorious times, the zenith of industrial and financial prosperity when the Speaker was Thomas B. Reed, when the industrial policy of the country was being consolidated into law by William McKinley, when the Senate was being led by Sherman and Allison, when the grace and dignity of the vice-presidential position was being illustrated in a way which made the reform Governor of New York, Levi P. Morton; when America for Americans was both principle and practice, and the honor of the country was protected and respected all over the world, and the Secretary of State was James G. Blaine; when every department of Government was illuminated by the marvelous ability, courage and statesmanship of Benjamin Harrison.

These be the good old times, which meant capital employed, labor in every department seeking laborers, wages up to the highest standard of prosperous times, and the country resuming once more its march along the pathway of civilization and national wealth and power.

MASS MEETING AT CARNEGIE HALL

ADDRESS AT THE REPUBLICAN MASS-MEETING AT CARNEGIE HALL,
NEW YORK, AUGUST 27, 1896.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: This is an interesting and memorable meeting. It is the opening of the Republican campaign. There is a peculiar fitness in having the keynote of this most important canvass sounded by one of the ablest and the wisest of the line of American statesmen. His presence is a Republican platform. It is prosperity, work and wages. The memory of his administration and beneficent conditions which prevailed during its continuance relieve the distress in which the country has since been plunged and is full of hope and promise for the future. In these days of theory and fancy and folly run mad we calmly point to the four years under Harrison and confidently say that the policies of sound money and protection which then prevailed with a wise and capable President will come again to the people of this country when the policies of sound money and of protection once more prevail with another wise and capable Republican President.

Every schoolboy in America has declaimed and been taught by declaiming the famous speech of Patrick Henry which fired our forefathers to undertake the war for independence. He was pointing out the results which must follow the continuance of the policy of Great Britain and enforcing the lesson that any sacrifice and any peril were better than the inevitable ruin and degradation which would come from submission. Then it was he said: "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." Fortunately in acting as citizens upon issues which have been so suddenly forced upon us in this campaign, the past is full of experience and guidance. It is all on one side. From the dawn of recorded history down to Mexico and South America despotisms, constitutional monarchies and republics have tried debasing their currency. In every case the country has lost its credit, its business and its industries have been demoralized or paralyzed and its people have been reduced

to poverty and despair. There is no instance in the whole range of history of wealth, national or individual, flowing from repudiation or dishonesty, from misrepresentation or fraud, from putting the government stamp on to a measure or value and declaring it to be double the measure or the value.

Partisanship and patriotism can ordinarily in a free country travel upon parallel lines. Those institutions are safer and that country is better governed where two great parties are striving for the mastery and most equally divided. Each can claim upon economic questions, upon matters of revenue and international improvements that its policy will eventuate in the greatest good to the whole people; each can confidently ask that its programme be submitted to the test of experiment; each can point to examples, in our own history or that of other countries, where its experiment has proved a success, but when the question is a moral one, striking at the very foundations of natural justice and the rights of man, like slavery or one affecting the salvation of the country, like an effort to divide it by secession and rebellion, or an attempt to put a stain upon the national honor and doubt upon the national credit, then patriots must act together and can only be on the one side. Then partisanship and party obligations are in abeyance, while intelligence and the patriotism of the nation are protecting its liberties, saving its life or upholding its honor. Here again we have lessons of experience and the lamp of history. In 1848 the slaveholders controlled the Democratic Party, and the Democratic Party controlled the Government of the United States. They also controlled, to a certain extent, the Whig Party. They sought to impose a virtual recognition and admission of slavery upon all the States in the Union. Then patriotic Democrats became Free Soilers and revolted from the crowd which was subverting the principles of their party. In 1856 the slaveholders still controlled the Government, the Democratic Party and a portion of the Whig Party, and endeavored to make the vast territories, which now constitute such a splendid portion of our national domain and so many of our commonwealths, slave States, and the patriotic members of the Democratic Party and of the Whig Party, broke loose from their organization to form the Republican Party for free soil and free men. In 1860, at the call of President Lincoln for the preservation of the Republic, the war Democrats again separated from their

party to give their efficient and needed assistance to the Republic in its hour of peril. In this crisis, when the national honor and all that that involves to the business, the employment and prosperity of the country is at stake, the Republican Party welcomes, with open arms, the assistance of patriotic Democrats who care more for their country than for an organization which has been temporarily seized by the tumultuous and evanescent forces of revolution, of communism, of anarchy and of repudiation. While we are fighting the platform which means all these we find that upon it is placed a ticket with one head and two tails, one tail wagging to fool the wage earner in the East, and the other wagging to delude the farmer in the West and in the South. It was Abraham Lincoln who wisely said, "You can fool all the people part of the time and part of the people all the time, but you can't fool all the people all the time."

Two millions of men marched to the front and 500,000 of them laid down their lives to stamp out sectionalism and make this United States a united country. This effort to array one section against the other by an appeal to prejudice and ignorance will be stamped out, not by bullets, but by ballots, will be stamped out not by 2,000,000 of men in arms, but by the intelligence and the patriotism, by the knowledge that each section has of the other, by the feeling that we are one people and that our greatness is in our oneness, which will move to the polls a majestic army of 14,000,000 of voters.

There are no classes, thank God, in this country. There are no places of power or of wealth to which the humblest boy may not aspire. Every President since Washington has come from the ranks, and all our prosperous business men are of the people and have climbed from the bottom. Candidate Bryan's speeches along the Hudson and through the Mohawk Valley for the last two days have iterated and reiterated the sentiment that this time the people are to vote for their own interests and to govern themselves. Who elected Lincoln and Grant and Garfield and Hayes? Who elected Harrison and Cleveland twice? Does this Popocratic candidate believe that these elections were carried by syndicates and bankers and not by the people? There will be 14,000,000 of votes cast in November in 100,000 polling places scattered over the vast territory of the American Union. The citizens will gather at these seats of popular power to cast a secret

ballot for the side which each believes to be best for his country and himself. The pretense that 100,000 bankers and money lenders will be at each one of these places influencing or controlling this vote, or that they have been in prior presidential and congressional elections, is an assumption more monstrous than the destruction of this earth by having swung around it the atmospheric tail of a flying comet. At Albany he spoke sneeringly of confidence as the "confidence man," meaning that the gold standard was a "confidence man" and the free coinage of silver at sixteen to one industrial and financial prosperity and happiness. The gold "confidence man" who has been governing this country since the war has paid off most of our national debt, has more than doubled the mileage of our railways and telegraphs and nearly doubled the number of our States, has furnished homes and employment for 70,000,000 of people to live better than 30,000,000 did before, has created the new South, has advanced wages and decreased the cost of living. And what has the free coinage of silver "confidence man" done simply by the promise of what he will do? Let the distressed farmer and the unemployed millions of the United States answer at the ballot box. Lack of confidence has destroyed the purchasing power of the country; the destruction of its purchasing power has ruined its markets, the ruin of its markets has left the farmer's product unsalable on his hands. What the farmer wants is not more coinage, but more customers. What the wage earner wants is to exchange his labor for the best dollar in the world and the opportunity whenever he wants to get that dollar with his labor.

Every day I receive marked copies of Populistic papers attacking me as one of the enemies of mankind because of my presidency of the New York Central Railroad and of my clients as a lawyer. Their candidates for President and Vice-president both started in life as I did, with no other capital than education and a profession. The same world, with the same opportunities, was before us in which to fail or conquer. We all three hustled for clients, for income and careers. That the business of one is reputed to yield larger returns than that of the other two is not regarded by lawyers as either a reproach or a misfortune. The New York Central paid last year \$4,000,000 to its stockholders in dividends, and on its pay roll and in contract work \$16,000,000 in wages. The rest of its earnings went for material, supplies,

and interest on its bonded indebtedness. There are 35,000 of us on the pay roll of that company, and we neither want to receive money worth half as much as that which we get nor to be compelled to pay for the necessaries of life twice as much as we pay now. In a debate which Mr. Bryan had a few months before his nomination upon the silver question with Mr. Rosewater, the able editor of the *Omaha Bee*, Mr. Bryan cited the prosperity of Mexico as proof of the benefits of the free coinage of silver. I asked a railway official of one of the Mexican railroads to send me the pay roll of his company. I received it this morning. I find that the pay of locomotive engineers, firemen, switchmen, yardmen, conductors, brakemen and skilled mechanics in shops averages somewhat less than the same service receives on the New York Central, but that those employees are paid invariably in the Mexican silver dollar, which makes their wages just one-half the wages on the New York Central. He sends me also his prices of the articles which these employees must buy for the support of themselves and their families, and I find that those are higher than they are in the State of New York. So much for the skilled labor on the railroad. But the trackmen on the Mexican railroads receive 75 cents a day in cities and 30 cents a day along the line in the country. As they are paid in Mexican silver, that means that they receive 37½ cents in cities and 15 cents a day in the country. Mr. Bryan is loudly calling for our independence from Europe, independence from borrowing its money for developing our enterprises and employing our labor, which would mean also independence from the vast trade which is carried on between Europe and the United States. We cannot close our ports and build a wall around us and be isolated from the world, but we go to a silver basis and then establish our relations with China and with the Orient. Tennyson has said, "Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay." Better ten years of vigorous, healthy, progressive activity than a century of paralysis. Better Chief-justice Russell, a man of the people, who has raised himself to the highest position in his country and commanded the attention of the world, coming to us with his magnificent message of peace and international friendship and commerce, than Li Hung Chang and cheap Chinese labor.

The Populistic programme of finance is contrary to the teachings of Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton, of Jackson and

Thomas H. Benton on the one side and Daniel Webster and Henry Clay on the other, of Samuel J. Tilden, Grover Cleveland and John G. Carlisle on the one side and Grant and Lincoln and Garfield and Harrison and Blaine and McKinley on the other.

The world looks at our present struggle with the anxious inquiry, "Whence has come this new revolution which has been repudiated by all the wisdom of the past and of the present?" It is found in the motto on the title page of "Coin's Financial School," which is the Bible of the Popocratic Party. That quotes from the eleventh chapter and twenty-fifth verse of Matthew, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them unto babes." The revisers of the New Testament will probably add, if the Popocratic ticket is successful in this canvass, "and unto boy orators."

Mr. Bryan is fond of talking about dying in the last ditch and standing in the forefront and making comparisons with distinguished characters in history. But as I contemplate the picture of his hopeless and heroic struggle upon the platform of Madison Square Garden, while the people are rushing from the hall, he seems to me to find his apt and eloquent parallel in one picturesque figure of poetry, the figure of Casabianca, the boy who "stood on the burning deck, whence all but him had fled." Unless reason and patriotism have gone from the American people, after election he will stand in our history as the Casabianca of American politics.

The literature and the eloquence of those who stand upon and support the Chicago platform are almost blasphemous with Scriptural quotations. It was the lurid picture of the "crown of thorns" and the "cross of gold" which swept this strange convention off its feet. But we have Scriptural authority directly upon the point of the doctrines of the Chicago platform—upon its false promises and its lying currency. They built their structure of national and individual prosperity upon the unlimited coinage of a silver dollar worth fifty-three cents, upon which the Government was to stamp the declaration: "This is a dollar. In God we trust."

In the apostolic times this system was tried by Ananias and Sapphira, and the party of Ananias and Sapphira which has been formed at different times in different countries in the last two thousand years has always met the fate of these progenitors. We

may accept the term while we repudiate the relation that the President of the United States is the hired man of the people. He holds his place for four years as the representative of the people. During that time he possesses more power than any ruler in the world except the autocrat of all the Russias. He can keep the country disturbed or at rest. He may not be able to create prosperity, but he can destroy it. He can create infinite distrust by the measures which he suggests or the quarrels which he provokes with foreign countries. The equipment for this high office goes almost as far as the principles behind the candidate. While Mr. Bryan was practising law before he entered Congress, Major McKinley was serving the people in that body. While Mr. Bryan, in the legitimate prosecution of his business as a lawyer, was foreclosing mortgages on Nebraska farms, Major McKinley was preparing measures and promoting policies which would enable the farmer to pay off his mortgages. While Mr. Bryan, as a representative in Congress, was preaching free trade and repudiation, Major McKinley was identified by name, by reputation, and by statesmanship with the measures which gave work, wages, business and good times and sustained the national honor, the national credit and sound money. While Mr. Bryan says, "My experiment of free trade, or all of it I could get, has proved disastrous; please try my experiment of a debased currency, and perhaps that will succeed," Major McKinley says, "Let us return once more to the policies and the practices and the measures which, from Washington to Harrison, made this country the greatest, the freest, the wealthiest, the most prosperous and the best for its people of any land in the world."

In 1892 I sat one night like this, after the election, upon the rear porch of the White House with the then President, talking over the results of the canvass. He said:

"Mr. Depew, beyond on the Potomac is a post upon which a notch is made every year showing how high the tide has risen. My administration has placed the notch of American prosperity higher than it has ever been before. This Democratic administration which is coming in must mark a notch higher than that or it must go out of power with the judgment of the American people that it has failed in its promises and failed in its policies, and the demand for the Republican Party once more to put the notch on the post."

The ground swell of the Democratic inefficiency has not only not put the notch on the post, but it has swept away the ground in which the post was, and the grand President, grand in his ability, grand in his wisdom and in his courage, who held to the true faith of Republicanism and the patriotism of protection and of sound money, and who put that notch higher than ever was President Harrison, whom I now introduce to you.

CONVENTION AT SARATOGA

SPEECH BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION AT SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER 16, 1896.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I presume I am placed here to occupy the waiting hour between temporary and permanent organization, the difficulty of the situation being that when the temporary resumes the orator is closed and the temporal is here.

I congratulate the temporary chairman upon the speech which he made this morning. He stated what we all believe and suggested what everybody ought to believe. I have been attending Republican State Conventions—I was going to say how long, but noticing the number of ladies who are present here this afternoon, I will not say how long. I am a candidate.

This convention recalls to me old times and old timers. It is the first time in ten years that the Republicans have met when they had the responsibilities of power. For ten years we have occupied the beautiful position of being the critics of power. There is nothing better than that unless you know how to administer the place when you have got it. The difference between us and our Democratic friends is that when we are put out of power we know how to point out their mistakes, and when we are in power we know how to remedy them. Democrats when out of power know how to point out mistakes, and when they are in power they know how to make more.

This convention reminds me of the convention of the seventies and the convention of the sixties when we used to gather in Saratoga confident of success in the State and success in the Legislature, having the responsibility to do the things which would command success and which would deserve it, and with the strong men of that period antagonistic in their views of party organization, with their followers devoted to their leaders, we held the State for twenty years by fighting our fights inside the convention and outside the convention fighting the common foe.

It is a comparatively easy thing to be in opposition. It is

always a difficult thing to contend with prosperity. There occurs to every man once or twice in his life, there occurs to every party in its existence the opportunity to succeed and the opportunity to deserve success. The question of success under such circumstances is whether, having had devolved upon you the responsibility, you have the experience, the pluck and the brains properly to administer it. We here, the Republican Party of the State of New York, stand in a position to-day that we have not stood in within the recollection of all the younger men upon this floor. When I was abroad a few weeks ago I saw miracles. It did not astonish me, because I had got accustomed to miracles within the last year. It was a miracle when the Republicans got the Constitutional Convention. It was a miracle when the Republicans captured the City of New York, the first time in a generation. It was a miracle when the Republicans carried the State of New York by 150,000 majority. And, as all miracles have their resultant forces, it will be the salvation of the Republic when the Republicans have the Nation entire in 1896.

Now, it is one thing to have a miracle and another thing to know how to handle it. Otherwise, you are going to have enough doubting Thomases to throw you out the next time. Under the responsibilities of power what have our Democratic friends done? They have had the Presidency; they have had the Senate; they have had the House of Representatives, and, in two years, they have transformed the independent dinner of the independent citizen of the United States, which was the glory of our prosperity, into the soup houses of pauperism. We had the responsibility of the Constitutional Convention. It is the judgment of constitutional lawyers and of State-makers in every State in this Union that the Constitutional Convention gave to the State of New York such a Constitution as good men have dreamed of for a century and never expected to have realized. It purified the judiciary; made possible honest elections; it made impossible frauds upon the Constitution without the knowledge of the members of the Legislature; it separated city government from the great questions of the State and the Nation, so that the honest men of the municipality, without regard to party, could fight the thieves without overthrowing the principles of their organization.

We had the responsibility thrust upon us of the third greatest city in the world. Brooklyn stands redeemed—a monument to

Republican capacity for government and Republican virtue and power.

There may be questions among us, as strict party men, as to the manner upon which, in a party sense, the politics or the government of New York City have been managed, but upon broad, high, public grounds of transferring corruption into integrity, dishonesty into honesty, inefficiency into efficiency of administration, extravagance into economy and the rights of the citizens recognized where the right of the citizen had to be bought, the Republican rule in the city of New York has been an eminent success.

Now, the merchant, and the trader, the huckster, the hackman, the man who earns his living by any occupation in the city of New York, does not have to sell his principles in order to sell his goods or his labor.

We have had the responsibility of the State. There have been criticisms upon the Legislature, but it is the glory of the Legislature that it passed no bad act, and if it did not meet the requirements and the expectations of everybody, it did pass many admirable acts. It did cleanse the judiciary. It did place upon the statute books a ballot law, the best we have ever had and a better one than we ever hoped for. It did more; it appointed a committee of the kind which heretofore has always failed to probe into municipal misgovernment and municipal corruption, with a genius for inquiry, with an impartiality, with a courage unequalled in the administration of such a difficult task, and it performed a public duty, higher, greater, nobler, more beneficent than any it has performed in my time, and it is a just recognition of the great benefit to the State performed by that committee that its distinguished, its intelligent, its able and its incorruptible chairman should be the permanent chairman of this convention. And when we had to crown the edifice with the ability to take care of this State, to redeem it from its past, and to put it upon the pathway for a prosperous future, we had for the captain of the ship, we had for the commander of our forces, we had for the guide in legislation, that man of incorruptible heart, of alert judgment and that exceedingly level-headed man, Levi P. Morton.

It is a beautiful thing to write history; almost as good as to prepare an interview—the difference between a history and an interview being that in one case you are interviewing other people, and in the other you are interviewing yourself. The historian of

our day and of the generation preceding us finds the history of the world so large, and the story of all countries so vast and so varied, that he can only make a selection for his skill and for his genius. So it is that Bancroft selected the foundation of the Republic, and took twelve or fourteen volumes to do it in. So it is that Macaulay took the period of power and of triumph of that oligarchy which he so greatly loved and admired; so it is that Froude took Cæsar and Carlyle Frederick the Great. But when the twentieth-century historian of that period—who must and will be a Democrat, for there will be Democrats in the twentieth century and until sin is extinguished from the world, and there will be saints to combat them and therefore always a Republican Party—when that Democrat undertakes, looking over the history of the marvelous thirty years since the Civil War, to write something or other which will be in accord with his principles and with his party attachments, and sits down to select Cleveland's Administration, God help him!

An old lady, riding in the same compartment in a car with me in Germany the other day, with a strong Yankee twang in her accent, said: "Wall, I was looking fur a hotel where we could stay in last night, and I saw the Hotel Gibbon, and as I had heard of him as a great historian, I thought it might be a great hotel, and so we went there; but after stayin' at that hotel, I am not surprised at the decline and fall of the Roman Empire."

We have been two years in the Hotel Gibbon and nothing can surprise us. That historian of the future will sit down with Democratic pride and the Democratic blood in his veins to write the story of his party in power after thirty years. He will commence with a fine pointed pen and he will end with a stub one. He will say: "What did they do with the finances? How much of the national debt did they pay off?" Well, they said: "A national debt is a national blessing, and so they increased it." That gets over that question. Well, then he will say: "How did they increase the revenues of the country?" He will study that up and he will come to this answer: "Why by cutting them off." Well, he will make a footnote and say: "That is at least original." Then he will remark: "How did they keep up the credit of the country?" "By borrowing money." Micawber did that.

An Englishman said to me: "Who have been the great finance ministers of your country?" I said Salmon P. Chase, who cre-



ated a system which carried us through a great Civil War and raised the \$6,000,000,000 to do it; Alexander Hamilton, who originated a financial system which has survived the shock of a century; John Sherman, who enabled us from the depths of bankruptcy to resume specie payments and to live up to our obligations in the currency world and made our currency of every kind as good as any currency in the world.

"Well," he says, "all that is of the past. Who is your great financier of to-day?"

Said I: "Mr. Syndicate." Then said he, "How odd, don't yer know."

But when the historian of the twentieth century comes to write the Republican story from Abraham Lincoln to Benjamin Harrison, comes to look over the great men who have illumined the period, to recall the inspiring names of Lincoln and of Grant and of Sherman and of Sheridan, comes to recall the Presidents, Lincoln, Grant, Garfield, Hayes, Arthur and Benjamin Harrison, and when he comes to recall the fact that while all of them were not supremely great, none of them was ordinarily small, and when, in addition to that, he begins to write the story of a party that saved the country and then did not arrogantly claim to own it, but only the privilege of developing it into grander opportunities, greater progress and more brilliant happiness; when he comes to develop the fact that it took care of America for Americans, no matter what the world said, when he comes to develop the fact that in every artery and in every instinct of its existence it was loyal to the flag at home and preserved its honor abroad; that it never surrendered a principle to put royalty upon a rotten throne, it never surrendered to fear and belied the doctrine that the genius of the American Nation, free and great in the United States, owes a duty to keep the Americans free from European control or intimidation, if he be a dullard he will write an interesting history; if he be a man of brains the inspiration will make him a man of genius; if he be a man of genius the inspiring story, accelerating his pulse-beats and firing his brain, will place in the libraries of the world a history of achievement by a great popular free party such as no country ever had, and such as never administered any government before.

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

SPEECH ON THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN BEFORE AN AUDIENCE
OF 28,000 PEOPLE, IN THE COLISEUM, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 9,
1896.

FELLOW CITIZENS: Chicago was burned to the ground in 1871. Such a calamity never before befell a great city. Her people stood bewildered, but undaunted, amid the ashes of their homes, their business, and their fortunes.

It took them two years to readjust their relation with the business and credit of the country, and then they proceeded to rebuild their city upon a scale grander than they had ever dreamed before. They found the money with which to do it from the savings banks, the life insurance companies, the capitalists of the East and from Europe. Then came the crime of '73, by which silver was demonetized and the United States went upon the gold standard. Twenty-three years have passed, and Chicago, the metropolis of the West, the largest and the most hopeful business center in the world, the home of great industries, the seat of a population which has grown nearly ten-fold during this period, presents the most marvelous object lesson in the story of finance, in the story of gold as a standard of value, of the value of gold as an unvarying standard by which to measure all other kinds of currency and all the product of the farm and factory, of brains and of labor. A hundred and fifty thousand men marching the streets to-day, proud of their American citizenship, no matter where they were born, proud of Chicago, glorying in the past and hopeful of the future, spoke with a voice which will be heard all over this land for honest money and the national honor. Even our misguided friends, who marched to-night under the banner of free coinage of silver, did so because the streets, the avenues upon which they marched, the houses in which they lived, the factories in which they worked, railways upon which they labored, were all of them marvelous creations in twenty-three years of business carried on under the gold standard.

I was delighted to have for my escort to-night, my friends,

the wheelmen. It takes a first-class row among fair-minded men, who have hitherto known little of each other, for them to become well acquainted and friends. The New York Central is now carrying the wheelman and his wheel, and I hail these swift messengers of the prosperity and energy of the Republic as one of the most active and most intelligent agencies in distributing sound money literature and resting from their wheels to enforce sound money doctrine. People who travel much and with their eyes wide open are generally the best judges of what is best for the country, and the wheelmen and the commercial travelers are almost unanimously for McKinley, sound money and prosperity. In all other canvasses they have been divided, as have all other vocations and pursuits and conditions of people in the United States. There will always be, and it is best for the country that there should be, a fair division of parties upon economic questions. We can differ upon protection and free trade; we can differ upon a system of banking as to whether the greenbacks should be retired and the currency issues be left to the national banks and the law of supply and demand; we can differ as to questions of internal improvements and reciprocity, but we cannot differ on questions which affect the life of our nation or the honor of our country, or the inviolability of our credit.

In 1880 Garfield was elected by a narrow margin; in 1884 the Democrats came in and Cleveland was elected by a small majority; in 1888 Harrison was elected by a few thousand; in 1892 Cleveland carried the country. These were the healthy and natural divisions into great parties which constitute the strength and perpetuity of free government. But, when the lunatics and theorists and experimentalists got possession of the Democratic Convention at Chicago and drove out nine-tenths of the experienced brains of the organization, and when they made their alliance with the idiotic asylum at St. Louis, the safety of the country demanded that sane men, without regard to previous party affiliations, should combine and save the honor and business of the nation. They have done so with a unanimity which has excited the astonishment and admiration of every one. In all previous contests the newspapers were about equally divided; the leaders in the professions in business, and in the trades were about equally divided; colleges were about equally divided. Now ninety-nine per cent. of the professors in the colleges in the coun-

try are for McKinley and sound money. All of the Republicans of national fame, with about three exceptions, are for McKinley and the national honor. All the Democrats, including the President and Cabinet, who have for a generation held the confidence of their party and the respect of the country, have placed the national honor, the national faith and national and individual credit above a captured and corrupted organization. Four-fifths of the labor leaders are for McKinley and prosperity.

The pulpit, usually averse to taking sides in partisan politics, preaches with tremendous earnestness from the commandment: "Thou shalt not steal." With the intelligence, integrity, business sagacity, and conscience of our people so unanimously arrayed on the right side, we wonder why there should be any other side. For the silver element we can account because of the persistent education carried on for the last ten years by a syndicate of mine owners and because there are in every community sensible men on all questions but one. On that there is a wheel wrong in their heads. But for the revolutionary part of the program of the Popocratic Party, we can only account by ascribing it to the Socialistic and Anarchistic Party who are seeking to overturn all existing institutions without presenting any program for better ones in their place. But there are historical reasons for temporary crazes like this. They account for their existence and promise their disappearance. Whenever in the history of the world there has been a great epidemic, it has been the opportunity of the fanatic and the crank. As the black death, or the plague or the cholera, have swept their tens of thousands into the grave, the religious fanatic has cried: "The church is a failure; I am inspired; follow me." They go with him into the wilderness, and perish, or they give away their property because the world is coming to an end at ten minutes past twelve, and they won't need silver in the next world; or they go out at dawn in the morning, as they are now doing in New York, and walk barefooted on the grass to cure consumption. So, in times of commercial disturbance, financial difficulty and industrial distress, the financial theorist and experimentalist has his opportunity, and he never proposes but one remedy, and that is debased currency—manufacture more so-called money, and so make money cheap. In every instance, in the whole history of the world, where money has been debased, the standard of money destroyed and the cur-

rency cheapened, it has ruined the nation, destroyed business, and reduced populations to poverty, despair, and starvation.

We hear much of the crime of '73. We are told that silver was demonetized by a trick. We are informed that the panic which began in '93 and is still on was caused by the demonetization of silver in 1873. There must be mighty little active energy in silver if it takes twenty years after vaccination for the inflammation to break out. Who were the criminals? First, Senator Stewart, president of the Chicago Popocratic Convention, spoke in favor of gold as the only standard while the bill was under consideration. Second, Senator Jones, of Nevada, said in the same debate, "Gold is the only standard among great commercial peoples," and Jones has furnished the ablest and most productive of the silver literature. Bryan must hang them; he must suspend upon the same gallows every living member of the Congress of 1873, both in the Senate and House, because they all voted for this bill. But, says Mr. Bryan, it was on their desks for a year and a half; it was debated through 153 pages of the *Congressional Record*, but not a member of either house understood the most important bill of the session. If Bryan is right what a collection of idiots the Congress of '73 must have been. But silver was demonetized by Jefferson's order to the mint to coin no more silver dollars in 1806; so he must go to Monticello, and take out the bones of Jefferson from their tomb and hang them as an exhibit, and as the creator of this crime, as Charles II did those of Cromwell. He must go to the Hermitage and disturb the sacred resting place of General Jackson and put his skeleton on exhibit. He must go to Marshfield for Webster and to Ashland for Clay, and to South Carolina for Calhoun, and to Missouri for Thomas H. Benton, and to Auburn for William H. Seward, for either in 1834 or in 1853, when a law was passed making silver currency only in amounts under five dollars, or in '73, they spoke for, advised, and voted for the demonetization of silver.

Who are the criminals upon the gallows and who are the hangmen, who, as the representatives of the virtue and intelligence of our day, have executed just judgment upon these enemies of their country? The criminals are all the Presidents, from Jefferson to Garfield; all the Cabinet ministers from Hamilton to John A. Dix, all the mighty men of debate from Madison

and Webster and Clay to Abraham Lincoln and James G. Blaine. They are all the treasures of statesmanship and patriotism that our country possesses. And who are their judges and executioners? Bryan and Sewall and Watson. This famous spike team, which is now careering and cavorting about the country; the wild broncho of Nebraska in the lead, the staid, slow, Puritan nag from Maine at the wheel, and his mate, the untamed colt from Georgia, trying not to pull the wagon, but to kick the stuffing out of the Puritan.

We have absolute liberty in this country of political freedom and religious toleration. We permit the Chinaman to worship his joss, and the Jap to bow before Buddha. The policy gambler to clasp his hands and knock his head on the floor in superstitious reverence of the mystical figures 4-11-44, and so we must view with toleration the followers of this new religion, who see salvation in 16 to 1. Where is the sacredness that makes sixteen ounces of silver for one of gold the foundation stone of our national greatness, business prosperity, and human happiness? When Columbus discovered America ten ounces of silver were equal to one of gold. The statue standing in front of the Auditorium on the lake front at Chicago casts a bronze smile of contempt at the limitless brass which discredits the standard of Columbus' period. When the Pilgrim Fathers landed upon Plymouth Rock and created a government of just and equal laws, thirteen ounces of silver were equal to one of gold. Brewster and Carver and Bradford and the other fathers rise from their graves to rebuke Bryan and Sewall and Watson and the rest when they say that 16 to 1 in 1896 is more sacred than 13 to 1 in 1620.

Truthful, honest, religious men, as those old Puritans were, they say to these modern advocates of silver, "You are liars and frauds. When we said that thirteen ounces of silver were equal to one of gold, we stated what was the truth, for then thirteen ounces of silver had the same market value as one of gold. When you say that sixteen ounces of silver is equal to one of gold, you are perpetrating a monstrous fraud, because even we, as the ghosts of men, who have been buried for two hundred and fifty years, know enough of the conditions in the world to-day to know that it takes thirty-two ounces of silver to buy one ounce of gold."

When our forefathers had driven the British from the coun-

try and created a free and independent Republic, they declared that the standard of value between silver and gold was fifteen ounces of silver to one of gold. They were patriots; they loved their country; they knew that the young Republic could live only upon an immutable standard, and so, after investigating the question, in Europe, as Hamilton said, they decided that 15 to 1 was the exact ratio. When we ask Mr. Bryan why he repudiated Columbus and the Puritan Fathers and the founders of the Republic, why he proclaims that the Government must say that sixteen ounces of silver is equal in value and must be taken by the people as equal in value to one ounce of gold for the products of their farms, the output of their factory and their labor, when he knows that by doing so they are getting only half value and a fraudulent return to the farm, the manufacturer and the wage-earner, his answer is: "Times have changed since the Revolutionary War, and I'm not George Washington."

Bryan and Sewall and Watson proclaim a revolution. They do not propose, as has always been proposed in every canvass before, measures within constitutional limits and well settled principles of government, but they seek to overthrow all the experience and all the wisdom of the past, to enter upon a wild career of constitutional and economic changes. We all admit the right of revolution and its necessity to escape oppression and tyranny and establish liberty. Our forefathers exercised the right when they resisted the encroachments upon their liberties by the mother country and won their independence. But revolutions are never justifiable unless the wrongs are beyond remedy by the people. We have no thrones, no house of lords, no privileged classes. Every four years the people at the ballot box decide who shall be their President, and every two years who shall be their congressmen. We, the people, make our own laws, and we, the people, are interested in their enforcement.

Revolution means the most frightful disasters in business, in employment, and in the happiness of the people. Temporarily, it suspends industries and paralyzes markets. The Popocratic Convention proposes in its program to destroy the Supreme Court of the United States as it now exists under the Constitution; to prohibit the issue of bonds to carry on the Government and maintain its credit; to destroy the sacredness of private contracts between individuals, as now guaranteed by the Constitution; to de-

stroy the standard of value upon which is based the solvency and credit of all civilized nations; to debase the currency and issue fiat money.

When the fathers of our Republic were making a nation they had before them the example of the French Revolution. They saw each party, as it came into power, send to the guillotine the leaders of the opposition; they saw a harlot placed upon a throne and worshipped by a nation as the representative of the reign of reason, which was to bring a new and better era to the world. They made up their minds to establish a Government with a written Constitution, which could not be destroyed by temporary madness. They provided how that Constitution could be amended if the people wanted it amended, but they gave them ample time to consider before it was done. They created a Supreme Court with the majestic power, a new power and a new condition in government; the power to say to Congress and to President, "The law which you have passed oversteps the limits of the Constitution. If you want to legislate on that subject you must pass a law that is in the lines of the Constitution." This Supreme Court by its decisions has given to the Federal Government the powers which have enabled it to protect its life, to put rebellion down and save liberty. There are two places in this country where all men are absolutely equal. Where the poor and the rich, the fortunate and the unfortunate, have the same power and the same standard: one is the ballot box and the other is the Supreme Court. The poorer, the more unfortunate, the weaker the citizen, the more he should strive to sustain the independence of the courts, for in them alone can he find protection against the strong and the wicked.

Bryan proposes to abolish the Supreme Court and make it the creature of the party caucus whenever a new Congress comes in, because it decided the income tax to be unconstitutional. It decided not that an income tax is unconstitutional, but that the law passed by the Popocratic Congress was unconstitutional; or in other words, that this party hadn't brains enough to frame a constitutional law. I will undertake to retain any one of a dozen lawyers whom I could name in Chicago who could draft a law on this subject which the Supreme Court would hold to be constitutional. Abolishing the Supreme Court will not furnish constructive talent to Mr. Bryan's party. There are three things legislation cannot

do. It cannot give experience to a child, even if he is thirty-six years old. It cannot put sense where nature has failed to put it, and it cannot make fifty cents a dollar.

The Declaration of Independence guarantees to every citizen, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. When Mr. Cleveland and the Government went into Chicago and permitted the railway trains to move, they were simply carrying out that provision. All men are created equal, says the Declaration of Independence, with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. When a hundred or a thousand men in a mob stop railroad trains all over the country, and prevent the mails, which carry letters of business, of family and affection, sick people who must be speedily got to hospitals or homes, husbands who are trying to reach their wives, mothers who are flying to their children, and lovers who are speeding to their girls, that mob is destroying the equal right of millions of people, to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness, and it is the duty of the Government to clear the highway and let the people move.

Mr. Bryan, passing through Chicago, advised the workingmen to wear McKinley buttons and march in the procession to-day to keep from being discharged by their employers, but to vote for him. He has made three thousand speeches, and in every one of them has charged that employers are coercing their employees and advising the employees to assert their independence. I say this is a monstrous slander on the workingmen of this country. They are independent. Under the Australian ballot they are in the box with no witness of their act but God. There is absolute freedom among railroad men, and that I know. No president, no superintendent, no manager controls, or attempts to control, their political action. There are thirty thousand employees in the New York Central system of which I am president. I go out every year upon the stump to speak for what I believe to be right, which is the Republican Party and protection and sound money. And every one of my fellow employees knows that he can vote against my politics and talk against my politics and work against my politics.

Major Priest died the other day at the age of ninety, having been an employee of the New York Central for fifty years. He was a Democrat of Democrats, and the leader of his party in the Mohawk Valley. He was my political opponent, my subordi-

nate, whom I could discharge, and my personal friend. It would have been dangerous to the health and good looks of any demagogue to tell the old major that he could not work and vote for the Democratic ticket. In the Cleveland canvass of '92 I spoke as now for the Republican ticket. I said after one of the meetings to a switchman in the yards: "Well, Jerry, how do you stand this year?" He said: "Boss, that's a good speech you made last night, but the boys are agin you this time," and a large majority of the employees of the New York Central voted for Cleveland, though both their president and chairman of the board, Mr. Vanderbilt, were for Harrison. I said to Jerry the other day: "Well, Jerry, how are you now?" He said: "Boss, we're all with you this time. No 50-cent dollars for us."

As one of the largest employers of labor in the United States, in my official capacity, as a laborer myself upon the pay-roll and liable to be dismissed as any of the others by the superior power of the board of directors, I resent, I repel this insult to the manhood and the independence of the workingmen of the United States—this insult to their intelligence, for they know better.

We have been for three years suffering from an industrial depression greater than ever before. For nineteen years, from 1873 to 1892, under a gold standard, our country had prospered as never before. Wages had advanced, the country every year sustained in comfort an increasing population, and the output of our farms and our factories made us the industrial leader of the world. The blight which came upon us, from my point of view, was first, the threat and limited execution of free trade, and next, and still worse, the assault upon confidence by the action of Mr. Bryan's party in holding up the Government and refusing supplies, preventing its having adequate revenue and tampering with the currency.

What are the remedies? We say, return to the paths of prosperity; get out of the woods and into the roads that lead to markets and to employment. In all his speeches, Mr. Bryan endeavors to excite employees against employers; wage earners against wage payers. I state this proposition without fear of contradiction—a proposition which every workingman knows to be true—that if the employer and his employees are agreed upon wages and hours, then their interests are the same. The employee wants the factory or the furnace or the mills to have

orders, to have a market which take its product; otherwise he cannot have employment, or he will have to work on half time. He wants his employer to extend his business, to double it, to treble it, to quadruple it, because that means that more of his fellows shall receive employment. It means that he shall share in this prosperity by an increase of pay. This panic has thrown ninety thousand railroad men off the pay-roll. No one feels worse about that than the directors and the presidents and the managers. There are fifty thousand cars lying idle between New York and Chicago and St Louis. That means locomotive engineers and firemen and brakemen and switchmen out of employment. That means less work in the shops and mechanics laid off. That means that the mill is no longer sending out its product, and the farmer no longer finds a market.

What I want, what I pray for, what I am out traveling for, night and day, making speeches, to bring about is to change all this. Now I am distressed and my heart is wrung by men and their wives and their daughters coming to me for employment. What I want is to see the day and to see it speedily, when I shall be seeking men, when I shall be advertising for engineers and firemen and switchmen on the New York Central Railroad. When every railroad president and manager will be in a position to employ all the skilled railway labor there is in the country and be calling upon the farms for their boys to enter the service.

When times are hard, cars are idle, trains are discontinued and a portion of the force has no work, the railroad president finds it impossible to keep up the efficiency of his road and the equipment and to satisfy his stockholders with dividends. In the last three years one-third of the railroad mileage of the country has gone into bankruptcy, stopped paying dividends and stopped paying interest upon a large amount of their bonds.

Mr. Bryan and his friends are howling about the oppression of capital and that the demonetization of silver in '73 has led to two things, they say: One, the increase of returns to capital, and the other oppression and reduction of returns to labor. Nothing in my time has equaled the adamant cheek with which the Popocratic orators turn facts into fiction. Since '73 the wages of labor in every branch of industry have increased sixty per cent. The returns upon capital have fallen one-half. The wages on the New York Central Railroad in 1873 were, for engineers \$80

on passenger trains; now they are \$150 a month; for freight engineers in '73, \$60; now \$100. Firemen then received \$40 a month; now \$75 on passenger trains and \$60 on freight trains. Trainmen then received \$35 a month; now they receive from \$45 to \$50. Trackmen then received 87½ cents a day; now they receive \$1.35. The Central Railroad received in '73 one cent and thirty one-hundredths a ton per mile for the carriage of the products of the farm. Last year we got only seventy-five one-hundredths of a cent a ton per mile. We paid formerly eight per cent. to our stockholders; now we pay four. This reduction of one-half in the freight charges of the New York Central has come entirely out of capital and been divided between the consumer and the producer. While the employees, instead of sharing in the burden, have had their wages continuously advanced. In 1873 the Western farmer and builder paid one per cent. a month for his money, now, if the security is good, they get it at five and six per cent. a year.

Mr. Bryan says we want more money, and the free coinage of silver will give it to us. We had \$18.50 of money for every man, woman, and child in 1873, and we have \$23 for every man, woman, and child in 1896. We have, in addition, unissued money in the Treasury, which, if the country would take it, would make the amount for each person \$34. We do not want more money; we want credit and confidence. We have the largest internal commerce of any country in the world. It is greater than the tonnage of all the ships on the ocean and all the railroads in all countries outside the United States. If this commerce, carried upon our railroads, rivers and canals, had to be handled in money, the gold and silver currency of all the nations of Europe and of America besides, would not be sufficient. Ninety-eight per cent. of the currency which makes possible this vast internal trade, are checks, drafts, bills of exchange, and credits.

If this country and the world has confidence in the stability of our currency, then we have the conditions of confidence instead of the disasters of distrust. Confidence means the spindles humming, the furnaces in blast, the machinery of the mills and the factories working to the limit of their capacities, the farmer finding a ready and remunerative market at the neighboring town for his products, work seeking men, and not men seeking work, mortgages paid off, homes acquired, the schools full of children, the

railroads crowded with freight and passengers, holidays and picnics and general happiness and prosperity. Mr. Bryan says that his experiment of the free coinage of silver will, of course, cause a panic. The boy of the Platte in his reckless talk, does not understand the horrors of a panic. We swallowed a potato bug four years ago and now he proposes that we take a dose of Paris green to kill it. A panic means the banks refusing to loan because the depositors are calling for their money; it means the closing of the mills and shops and factories and mines; it means the big mercantile establishments going into bankruptcy and their clerks in the streets; it means thousands of honest toilers seeking jobs without finding them, and returning to homes where there are hungry children and despairing wives. To talk lightly of panic is to be indifferent to human misery and a crime against suffering humanity.

But Mr. Bryan is to cure all this by his remedy working after the panic. He is like the doctor, the quack doctor, who said to the patient, when the patient asked him: "Doctor, what is the matter with me, anyhow?" "Well," said the doctor, "my friend, hanged if I know, but the post-mortem will reveal it."

The orators of this new creed say that with the free coinage of silver there will be unlimited money for every one. But money can be had only in two ways; by stealing it, or giving labor or some product of value in exchange for it. After the silver mine owner has had his millions of silver bullion coined into bright and glittering dollars, saying on one side, "This is a dollar," and stamped on the other, "In God we trust," and worth only fifty-three cents, he will not give it to any one, unless that person can give him something of value in exchange, or labor in exchange. This whole scheme is a gigantic conspiracy with a few able and unscrupulous directors and many dupes.

In traveling across the continent I met most of the leading directors, managers, and owners in the silver mining industry, and such of them as would frankly discuss the question said that at the present price of labor many mines of low grade ores could not be worked at a profit. But if they could get the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 the demand for silver for coinage would appreciate the price of it, and a silver dollar being worth only fifty-three cents in legal tender, they could pay their workmen in these silver dollars, and so get down the wages of the



miners. Thus, they would make money, estimated at \$36,000,000 a year out of the general public of the United States on the one hand and make more by this compulsory reduction of wages to their employees on the other.

To support his theory of the free coinage of silver, Mr. Bryan has called upon Bismarck. And Bismarck, without approving the plan, has said "yes, you are a young and vigorous nation and just the country to try." Bismarck, in 1871, demonetized silver in Germany and established the gold standard. It left Germany with three hundred millions of silver in the treasury, of which, on account of the fall in the price of the metal, she has been unable to dispose. So Bismarck says, as experience has often said to credulity before, to this callow youth of the Platte, "of course, your great country can try the free coinage of silver, and the world will look on with eagerness for the result of your experiment," and then the grand old statesman quietly sends word to the German treasurer, "Be sure you get our silver into the United States mint first."

He calls upon James G. Blaine as a witness, but while Blaine favored bimetallism, if the parity of the two metals could be maintained at the gold standard, he was always the enemy of the debasement of the currency, the repudiation of debts or a stain upon the national honor. He calls Henry Ward Beecher as a witness and said in his Brooklyn speech that if Beecher were alive he would stand beside him as a friend of humanity. But Beecher is alive in the speeches he left behind him, and on Thanksgiving Day, 1877, Beecher spoke thus: "Whenever in any nation, there is such an attempt to tamper with standards that the moral sense of man is bewildered and liberty is given to unprincipled men at large, to cheat, to be unfaithful to obligation, to refuse the payment of honest debts, it is all the worse if done with the permission of the law. Whoever tampers with established standards, tampers with the very marrow and vitality of the public faith. Gold is the world's standard; gold is the universal measure of value; gold is king in commerce, all other money must represent gold."

Mr. Bryan calls Lincoln as a witness to support his revolutionary scheme to prevent the President of the United States from sending troops into a State to suppress riot and disorder, unless the Governor of the State asks it. It was Abraham Lin-

coln who, against the protest of Governors, sent Grant through Kentucky to Donelson and Shiloh and Vicksburg; sent Sherman from Atlanta to the sea, and sent the Army of the Potomac from Washington to Appomattox. Mr. Bryan, when he cites facts, finds them refuted by history and by experience, and when he cites witnesses, all testify against him. The saints of the Republic rise from their graves to protect against his misquotations of their utterances and falsifications of their positions.

I said of Mr. Bryan, when the audience left him in Madison Square Garden, that he was like Casabianca,

“The boy stood on the burning deck,
Whence all but him had fled.”

After November 3d, as I find from my Western trip, the resemblance will be still more striking, for the poet says:

“There came a burst of thunder sound,
The boy, oh, where was he!
Ask of the winds that far around
With fragments strewed the sea.”

Major McKinley, on the other hand, every day, and many times a day, in speeches to delegations visiting him at his home, calls as witnesses to his position on finance, on currency, on protection, on patriotism, on national honor and on national credit, all the great statesmen of the nation, and Washington and Hamilton, and Jackson and Lincoln, and Grant and Garfield shout through the record of their lives and their utterances when alive, “Amen, McKinley.”

Against the misinformation, the inexperience, the unfitness for the greatest office in the world of William Jennings Bryan, we place this type of our best citizenship, this model soldier, statesman and man, Major McKinley. When, at eighteen years of age, he was working and studying to enter college, Sunter was fired upon, the next day found him enlisted in the Twenty-third Ohio. At the battle of Antietam, he was commissary sergeant in charge of the rations in the rear. Along in the afternoon, he thought the boys in front must be hungry and thirsty. He was in a safe place, but he prepared the sandwiches and boiled the coffee and loaded two mule wagons and through the hail of shot and shell drove to the front. The mules and driver

of one wagon were killed, but the other got through, and amid the cheers of the brigade, Sergeant McKinley served the coffee.

As lieutenant, McKinley in one of the battles of the Wilderness, was ordered to carry a command to a regiment isolated by the retreat and about to be captured, to join the brigade. The hoofs of his horse as he galloped across the plain did not stir up the dust more rapidly than the bullets which fell thickly around him. But he reached the regiment, gave the order and saved it from surrender. Then he became Major McKinley.

He has earned by his services in Congress one more responsibility. That the people of the United States will give him on the 3d of November, with a unanimity and enthusiasm unprecedented in our election, and the title will be William McKinley, President of the United States.

NOMINATING SPEECH

SPEECH NOMINATING HON. ASHBEL P. FITCH FOR COMPTROLLER
OF GREATER NEW YORK AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION,
CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 28, 1897.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I esteem it a privilege to be a member of this convention. The occasion is an event of more than usual interest and is historical. One of the great parties of the country meets here to grasp and solve the largest and most difficult problem of municipal government ever undertaken. The fathers of the Republic, Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, and Adams feared great cities, both in themselves and their influence upon the country. There is represented in this hall the population of a city greater by a million than the people of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Publicists and statesmen have doubted, and still doubt all over the world, the possibility of the government by universal suffrage of a city so large as New York. The Republican Party, from its origin until to-day, has at all times exhibited its unquestioning faith in government of the people, for the people and by the people.

It is a superb illustration of this confidence in popular judgment that it created the Greater New York. We believed when we passed the charter, we believe now, that it is an accomplished fact that in uniting these contiguous and closely related peoples we have placed within the Empire State the imperial metropolis of the Western Hemisphere and destined to be the pride of America and the greatest city in the world. The task of government is increased in this the beginning of our experiment by the necessity of bringing localities and constituencies whose affairs have been administered in different ways, under one harmonious administration. This is a task requiring executive ability, infinite tact and demonstrated success in the handling of great affairs.

The future of New York depends in great measure upon the men who are to guide and direct the processes of its consolida-

tion. We have made a most promising beginning in the nomination for Chief Magistrate of that distinguished statesman and jurist, General Benjamin F. Tracy.

Equal in importance to the office of Mayor is the post of the financial officer of a great city. I am not sure but that in the formative process of amalgamation and consolidation his opportunities to help or harm, to do good or to do evil are much greater. Managing a city is a business which can be entrusted safely only to experience and integrity. The financial affairs of our metropolis, in the collection and disbursement of the moneys of the people, are of greater magnitude and importance than those of most States. The Comptroller of Greater New York has before him the adjustment upon equable bases of the burden of sixty millions of dollars a year upon this aggregation of crowded city, of residential borough and suburban conditions which constitute our new community.

Whatever may have been the difference of public expression as to who was the best man to be the first Mayor of Greater New York there never has been any question in Republican newspapers or Democratic newspapers or financial newspapers but that the best man for Comptroller was Ashbel P. Fitch. Mr. Fitch, having demonstrated his fitness for public office by his services to our city, and to the country in Congress, has five times submitted himself as a candidate to the suffrages of the citizens of this community and never been beaten. He has received during the discussion of candidates and tickets an unsolicited tribute never before paid to the financial officer of a municipal corporation. The managers of the banks, the trust companies, the savings banks and the life insurance companies, the men who are entrusted with the deposits of the business community and with the investment and care of the savings of the thrifty workers, both men and women, whether in their party affiliations they be Republicans or Democrats, have unanimously called upon the political parties of the city to unite upon Comptroller Fitch.

We are told that there must be no suggestion in this campaign of the issues upon which the national honor and the national credit were saved last November. But Banquo's ghost will not down and silver will persist in wearing a "crown of thorns" because the industries of the country and the farmer, the manufacturer and the business man have been saved by the "cross of gold."

The silver Democracy declares that in the Greater New York charter it is provided that all the bonds to be issued by the city shall be payable in gold coin or in the legal currency of the United States at the option of the Commissioners of the sinking fund. They declare that a Comptroller who believes in gold will have gold bonds issued and as the city of New York is constantly issuing bonds and the representative financial center of the country such a Comptroller will be a perpetual menace to the glorious doctrine of "sixteen to one." Well we take up that challenge as we have taken it up before. We point to the credit of New York, so high, so pure, we call attention to its securities selling to better advantage at times than those of the Government of the United States and we say it was a Comptroller who believed in honest money, borrowing money from the savings of the poor in the savings banks and life insurance companies and promising to repay that money, principle and interest, in gold, who kept thus high our city's credit and that Comptroller was Comptroller Fitch.

There was a meeting a few days ago at Chicago which arrested the attention of the whole country. It was a gathering of the leaders of the Democratic Party who had conducted the campaign in the presidential canvass for Wm. J. Bryan. The election in Greater New York was the most significant and important which would take place since the presidential campaign. These silver Democratic leaders were there to decide upon what platform the New York canvass should be conducted. Republicans never had to discuss upon what platform their canvass should be conducted. They are known and read of all men. One year ago these same Democratic leaders were in Chicago. The farmers were in despair, the factories were closed, the streets were crowded with men out of work and there was the gloom and the darkness of industrial depression upon the land. Now with restored confidence and wise legislation, with their theories defeated and their principles buried, with McKinley President and the measures they denounced enacted, how marvelous the change. The farmers are now paying off their mortgages, the furnaces are in blast, the mills and the factories are calling for labor and work is seeking the working man instead of the working man seeking the work. The representatives from New York City said to these great national magnates: "If we conduct our Democratic campaign on

the principles of our party we will be hopelessly defeated, but if we drop our principles and rally around the old flag and the appropriations we think we have a chance." The answer of the blind conclave was "Throw silver overboard and go for the Treasury. Purse beats principles."

I remember hearing my grandfather, who lived in the neutral ground of Westchester during the Revolutionary War, often describe the cowboys who wore the British uniform when they wanted to carry off the cattle of a patriot farmer and the Continental uniform when they had a chance to loot the cattle of a Tory farmer, but whatever their uniform they were with the cattle every time. During our Civil War the assistance which Mr. Lincoln most gratefully welcomed was that noble body of patriots who put their country above party and were known as war Democrats. So in the last presidential canvass McKinley and Hobart and the Republican Party welcomed with opened arms those Democrats who were willing to sacrifice the associations of a lifetime for the credit and honor and prosperity of their country. The country and the Republican Party owe these patriots an immense debt of gratitude. None of them have sought office or asked any reward from our victorious administration of our party convention, but it is a high duty and a great privilege on our part to conspicuously recognize what these men did and what they helped us to accomplish. It is in that spirit that I place in nomination for Comptroller of the city of New York a Gold Democrat, Ashbel P. Fitch.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

SPEECH ON TAKING THE CHAIR AS PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLICAN CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, JANUARY 17, 1898.

GENTLEMEN: I have assumed the gavel many times in the course of a checkered and rather agreeable career, but never with more pleasure than to-night. It is an honor for any of its members to be elected president of the Republican Club. The conditions attending this annual meeting make the elevation to the position one of peculiar significance and gratification.

The differences in our party are more acute and intense than they have been for a quarter of a century. They found expression at the polls in the last election, and are rapidly culminating in hostile organizations. The Republicans of New York are not alone in these troubles. They are found in Ohio, in Maryland, and in other States. All these warring elements are conspicuously and ably represented in our club. That they should have united and unanimously elected me president is at once a distinction and imposes a great responsibility. It is full of pleasant suggestions and prophetic promise of happier times for the future. It demonstrates that Republicans can get together, and when the crisis becomes sufficiently marked they will discover some method of party unity and party harmony. Happily these differences are not upon national principles, policies, or measures. In the present, as in the past, upon the commercial seaboard of the Atlantic and on the golden coast of the Pacific, amid the tropical productions of the South and the industrial efforts of the North, in the harvest fields of the West and the workshops of the East, the Republican Party is agreed and enthusiastic for the principles which have made our country great and our party one of the most memorable of political parties in the history of free governments.

The growth of clubs is one of the most remarkable things of our time. The gregarious tendency of modern populations has developed this form of association in every considerable city in the world. For generations the principal object of the club was

social. But in our time it has come to be the gathering-place of people who have like views and like interests. The political and religious club is rapidly sapping the foundations and the prosperity of the purely social organizations. Within the walls of their own club-houses men who are interested in the advocacy of political principles or the preservation of religious dogmas can find in our busy life the way to meet, to discuss and promote the things in which they believe. The power and the influence of the club which is both political and social have not yet been fully felt in our country. It is a potential force in the governments of the Old World.

Everything has changed since the formation of our Government. The fathers of the Republic placed the capital at Washington because they feared the influence of great cities. The lessons of the French Revolution had given them a terror of mobs. They sought to place the capital where the population would be purely official, and where Congress could not be intimidated or overawed by a turbulent populace. We now see their short-sightedness. Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Madison were farmers, as were most of the leaders of the Revolution and framers of the Government. Hamilton and Jay, though lawyers, loved the country and its life, and were in harmony with rural ideas and prejudices. The country press were the moulders of public opinion. Now the city daily newspaper penetrates every farmhouse and is on the desk of every member of Congress. This constant concentration of population and gregarious madness is the most difficult problem of our time. It weakens that strength of the individual which has been the power in our institutions and their development. It is to be lamented, but can not be helped, and must be wisely met. As everything in our day is drawn to cities, the great parties of the country must be strongly and intelligently represented in them. That government is more electrically in touch with the public sentiment of the country which has its legislative halls in the real capital of the Republic. Washington or Albany will often be moved by excitements created within the walls of the State House, and not felt outside. They are like kettles, which steam and snort and blow and throw off steam, but the fire is only under the kettle. If both our own Legislature and the National Congress were in New York, they would feel instantly along the wires which come from every centre, every

locality, and every interest to the metropolis, the wants, the impulses and the judgment of the country. More and more as the years roll by will Cabinet Ministers, Senators, and Congressmen gather in New York. More and more will the strong men of other States find their business or their pleasure, at certain seasons of the year, in this great city.

The two curses of power are flattery and isolation. They prevent access to the great official or leader and they make his mind inhospitable to advice or suggestions other than his desires. The easiest transition is from finding his wise and honest adviser disagreeable to believing him to be his secret enemy.

Thus the political club must grow in importance in our city. Our successful opponents in the recent municipal election have already recognized this, and the press and the town are ringing with the hundreds who are admitted every night to the Democratic Club and the statesmen from all over the country of the Democratic faith who are asking to be enrolled among its members.

I once had an experience of how isolation affects an official. Mayor Havemeyer had managed to get at odds with his party, and lived in the exclusive association of his appointees and employees. It was a little court of fulsome flatterers and false friends. An ordinance had been passed of great interest to the New York Central Railroad, which he had refused to sign. I succeeded in entering his office one day, and he said to me with great sternness: "I am told that whenever you try to get a public official to do something you always succeed, because you present the matter in such a way that you persuade him against his judgment and his duty, and I did not intend to see you."

"Well," I said, "Mr. Mayor, that is very flattering, but it would ruin me in my official and professional capacity if it were universally believed. Now, I will tell you what I will do. I will let you do all the talking, and I will not say a word."

So he immediately began talking about himself, his place, his power, and the popularity and the benefits of his rule. He said, finally: "You see me here all alone. Nobody comes in to visit me. There," he said (pointing to Broadway), "is that stream of people going up and down—business men, professional men, and laboring men. They never come here. They don't even look over here, because they know the old Dutch mayor is taking care of their interests."

I said: "Mr. Mayor, you have stated your position, your power, and the benefits of your official conduct so much more strongly than I could myself that I can only accept them as the absolute facts, and as one and a representative of those people who pass up and down say that is their view."

He immediately signed the ordinance.

None of us has yet grasped the full meaning of this greater city of New York. The movement of people from all parts of the country to cities will be immensely accelerated by New York becoming the second, and soon the first, city of the world. The attraction of gravitation is resistless. London and Paris and Berlin and Rome grow with infinitely greater rapidity than any of the other cities of their respective countries. New York will advance by leaps and bounds, because of the irresistible attraction which crowds have for individuals. New York, cosmopolitan and national, is to be not only the commercial and the financial, but the political, the religious, the literary and the intellectual center of the continent. Its greater opportunities for success or failure, its instantaneous touch with all the world, its concentration and diffusion of news and of business, will bring here not only a permanent population of enormous size, but the resident representatives of every business, profession and interest in the United States. More and more every day the business man of America is coming to understand that his highest business is the business of politics. Blow after blow from the President or from Congress has taught us that from Washington can come in a night the paralysis of trade and the stoppage of industries, or from Washington can come the legislation which will energize and promote the business interests of the country.

These Southern, Western, Pacific Coast, Mountain State, and New England men in our midst remain in close association with their own localities at the same time that they are nominally New Yorkers. They are open-minded and free from prejudice. Their politics are selfish, but it is the selfishness which promotes the best interest of the country and gives the largest employment to its capital and labor. These representative men are largely Republicans; their home should be a Republican club. This organization has the age, the experience, the membership and the possibilities to make it such a home. It should be divorced from everything that is petty or small or local or individual. It should

have no care and no voice in the selection of candidates or in the organization politics of the ward or the city or the locality. It should welcome upon its rolls every Republican who is a Republican by profession, by faith and by practice on National lines. Our Democratic friends are building up a club whose avowed object is to have New York City control the policy of the Democratic Party in the State and in the country. Our purpose in this club should be broader. It should be to have this club the representative, and the intelligent representative, of the Republican opinion of the whole country—Republican opinion crystallized from the judgment and discussion of intelligent Republicans from every part of the country. This is a large programme, but it is in harmony with that great city which on January 1st took its place among the mighty municipalities of ancient and modern times.

Our membership should be numbered by the thousands, should be limited only by the boundaries of the Republic of the United States, and our organization should be the home where the Senator, the Congressman, the business man, the lawyer, the artisan, and the labor leader from all over the country can find hospitality and congenial minds, and our Republican Club should be known as the National Republican Club.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S POLICY

SPEECH ON RESOLUTIONS ENDORSING PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S POLICY, BEFORE THE REPUBLICAN CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, APRIL 16, 1898.

GENTLEMEN: I was dining to-night with a gentleman just returned from Washington. He had seen much of President McKinley and spoke with great earnestness of the President's profound anxiety and of his overwhelming desire that in doing what he thought best for the honor, dignity, and glory of our country he should have the support and confidence of the American people.

Certainly he is entitled to an expression from this Republican Club which supported him with such ardor and enthusiasm and was so gratified with his election. He certainly has fulfilled, during the trying and critical times of the last few months, the expectations, not only of those who elected him, but of the whole people of the country. He has done more. He has impressed upon the governments of Europe the justice of our position and the strength of our contention, in a way almost unequalled in the history of American diplomacy. Many have wished that he should go faster or go further. None of his critics, however, have had, as the President has, all the information and all the knowledge of the situation in Spain, in Cuba, and in our own country requisite to form the best judgment.

Three such crises as this one which has come to President McKinley have occurred in the history of the United States. They are illustrated by the four portraits upon these walls.

When Washington was President the leaders of the French Revolution sent over one of their number, Mr. Genet, to bring about a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between France and the United States against Great Britain. Genet traveled the country making speeches and inflaming the people. There was an intense animosity against England because the Revolutionary War had just closed, and the warmest gratitude to France for the assistance which she had rendered us. The Republic, how-

ever, was exhausted and unable to undertake a war. The people demanded in mass meetings, and Congress insisted, that the alliance should be made. Washington, who knew better than anyone our condition and the conditions on the other side, resisted the effort and defeated the plan. He lost popularity and if he had not been Washington he might have been impeached. The verdict of all the historians is that had the United States entered into that alliance at that time, with the events which subsequently took place in Europe, the young Republic would have been destroyed.

In the early days of the Civil War Congress and the people demanded of President Lincoln that he free the slaves. For two years, with great loss of popularity, Mr. Lincoln resisted this demand. He knew that until the people of the North who were supporting the war but believed in the constitutionality of slavery were convinced that it should be destroyed, a declaration to that effect would lose the Government so much support in the Northern States that the movement, instead of being a benefit, would prove a boomerang. We all know now that had President Lincoln issued the Proclamation of Emancipation a year or two years before he did the victory of the Republic, on account of the fire in the rear, might never have been achieved. But in the fullness of time the great Proclamation of Emancipation was issued and the triumph of union and liberty was complete by the wisdom of Abraham Lincoln.

After the war was over there was a wild and almost resistless movement in Congress and everywhere to try and hang the chiefs of the Rebellion. General Lee, General Beauregard, General Longstreet, General Johnston and the rest must all be convicted as traitors and executed for treason. Against this outcry stood General Grant, and no one but General Grant, with Appomattox behind him, could have stayed the vengeance of the passions of that hour. We now know that had those Confederate leaders been hanged the Southern States would never have come into the Union, and the re-union of the States which makes us so great and so strong, which makes our victory so sure in a war with Spain, could not have been accomplished.

We now come to our crisis, and we have a President who worthily succeeds Washington, Lincoln, and Grant. The Republican House of Representatives has passed a resolution which

embodies his views and will enable him to carry out the purpose expressed in his wise and statesmanlike message. The Senate has passed a resolution antagonistic to the President's position and assuming the prerogatives which, by the Constitution, belong solely to the President of the United States. The question for us in this Club as Republicans, and members of a Republican organization of nearly a quarter of a century's standing, is whether we shall stand by our Republican President, stand by our Republican House of Representatives or join with a majority of the Senate, largely made up of Populists, Democrats, and Silverites. Shall we stand by the Republicans of the Senate who support the President, shall we stand by the Republican majority of the House who support the President, shall we stand by William McKinley and send him a message that so far as this Club is representative of public opinion it approves of what he has done, it approves of his great message to Congress and it believes that the mighty issues which are to determine so much for the future of this country, for humanity and for liberty, can be safely left in his hands?

NEW YORK'S ADVANTAGES

SPEECH ON BEHALF OF NEW YORK AS THE PLACE FOR HOLDING
THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION, AT WASHINGTON,
DECEMBER 15, 1899.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE: On behalf of our delegation I wish to present briefly to you the reasons which we believe make New York the best place for holding the next Republican National Convention.

The first considerations in selecting a city are accommodations and easy and frequent methods of communication. New York is pre-eminently equipped beyond all other cities in these respects. Fifty or one hundred thousand additional visitors make no impression upon its hotel accommodations. These accommodations are of the variety to meet every pocket and every taste. They are from the Mills Hotel to the Waldorf-Astoria. The conformation of the city is such that the hotel district lies within a limited area. By the elevated and surface roads all the hotels are within easy communication, and within thirty minutes of each other. Madison Square Garden accommodates, without crowding, 13,000 people, and is also so centrally situated as to be within easy and convenient access from the city hotels.

This convention will probably be in session a fewer number of days than any of its predecessors. The ticket will be nominated by acclamation. There is no division of sentiment in our party as to who shall lead it. The wisdom and statesmanship of President McKinley have satisfied the party and the country, so that he will receive the immediate and unanimous nomination of the convention, and that choice will just as certainly be ratified by the people. By the time the convention meets the choice for Vice-president will be equally clear. We shall have the unique, interesting and inspiring spectacle of a great party going before the people without any of the jealousies or the acrimonies or heartburnings of defeated convention candidates. The platform is already formulated in the minds not only of the party leaders, but of the voters of the country. It will point to an unexampled

record of pledges fulfilled, of the beneficent results of Republican policies and extraordinary prosperity. Its key-note will be gold and glory—gold, the standard which, once fixed beyond question, has given us the first rank among commercial nations, and the glory of our arms, which has made us a world power and opened for the enormous surplus of our fields and factories distant, exhaustless and remunerative markets.

The delegates who attend this convention and whose duties, while important, are already so clearly defined and settled, will necessarily wish to make the trip an excursion, and to be accompanied by their families. Whatever may be the criticism upon New York, every human being in the United States desires to visit the city, and this will be both excuse and opportunity. No city in the world is so situated for recreation. We have the Hudson River on the one side, the East River on the other side, and a beautiful bay for excursions. The ocean is within an hour for health and a dip. The most attractive places in the world are on the beach, reached by hourly trains and boats. The art treasures of the city are unequaled upon the continent, and the theatres present the best dramatic and musical attractions.

The presence of the convention in New York City would have an inspiring effect upon the greatest of our States, whose electoral vote has so often turned the scale of the Presidency. It will also give renewed enthusiasm to the Republicans of Connecticut on the one side, and of New Jersey on the other, who have rescued from free silver those ordinarily Democratic States.

The cosmopolitanism of New York will appeal to the delegates from every State. There is hardly a commonwealth which does not have in the great city a sufficient number of its citizens in permanent residence to form a large and flourishing society. The West, the South and the Pacific Coast are represented by the most active and energetic business men of the metropolis, who are there also to represent the business interests of the sections from which they come. There are more Yankees than there are in Boston. It is by contact with these States within a State that the delegates from the several States will be brought into more intimate and closer connection with the sections from which they come, and with all other sections of the country, than is possible or can be possible anywhere except in the cosmopolitan city which is the first city in the world and the metropolis of the Western

continent; which has within the last two years been treading upon London's prestige as the financial centre of the world.

We have developed, with the excitement of our rushing business and reckless disregard of health which characterize our active business and professional men, a class of climate hunters. Some are such from the necessities of their health, and others are just simply for comfort. They have hitherto been seeking what they desired at Saint Maurice, around the Swiss lakes, on the Riviera, on the Nile, and in the deserts of Arabia. But they have found that for certain months in the year Lower California and Florida are more healthful in some lines than Cannes or Cairo; Colorado than Saint Maurice; the Adirondacks than the Italian lakes. But in the month of June there is no place in the world which, with its parks and its environs, is so attractive, so healthy and possesses so charming, living, livable and invigorating an atmosphere as New York City.

One of the charges frequently brought against Americans, is that they are always talking about the bigness of their country. No American of to-day can tell the truth modestly and moderately without talking about the bigness of his country. We Republicans do not claim the earth, but we do claim that our policies have benefited the people who live on the earth. We do not claim what has come from the rains and bounties of Providence and abundant crops, but we do claim that the measures, the policies and the principles of the Republican Party have enabled the country to energize its productions and to utilize prosperous conditions for the wealth of the land, for the employment of its people and for general and beneficent prosperity. Now, the greatest concentrated exhibit of American prosperity is the city of New York. Its booming growth is greater every year than that which has made famous so many thriving towns. Within its corporate limits it is the second city of the world, and if we add Jersey City, on the other side of the North River, which is as much a part of it as the two sides of the Danube are of Vienna, or as the two sides of the Thames are of London, it is the foremost city in the world.

It is, therefore, eminently proper that the convention which represents the party whose policies have protected the industries, stimulated the productive power and brought out the resources of the country, whose policies have opened the markets, in order

that production might increase and surpluses might grow, to the constantly increasing benefit of labor and capital, should hold its convention in this great and thriving centre of population, industry, intelligence; this epitome of the growth and prosperity and the power of the United States; this one spot where every nationality which has received welcome in the country and been adopted into our citizenship has the largest number of its people; this one spot where every section of the country has sent a portion of its active, enterprising and brainy men and beautiful women to add to the strength and the power of the great city.

There will be given to the convention, sitting in New York, a world of attention, and to its results a universal interest, which is possible in no other city in our country.

COOPER INSTITUTE MASS-MEETING

SPEECH AT THE MASS-MEETING AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK,
NOVEMBER 1, 1899.

FELLOW CITIZENS: After the excitements of a presidential canvass it is difficult to arouse interest in the succeeding election. The most disastrous fallacy in government and public affairs is concentrated in the unfortunate phrase "an off year."

If there be any truth in the well-worn maxim that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," then there are no "off years" in free governments. We do not have the music and the banners and the torch-light processions which express the enthusiasm of a great campaign, but upon the altar of liberty the torch is always lighted, either to illumine her temple or start a conflagration. An "off year" is the excuse for the neglect of public duty which keeps away from the polls the citizens most interested in good government. Weak and incompetent judges, careless public officials and bad legislators are excused upon the ground that they were elected in an "off year." Our system accordingly becomes a Herculean effort in two out of every four years to correct the evils which have come from ignorance or indifference in the other two.

Surely it is an important election when we are to choose a Canal Board, who are the directors of the great canal system of our State; an Attorney-general, who is the law adviser of the Commonwealth, and upon whose ability and integrity we are to depend for protection of public interests and punishment of speculators of the public funds; a Comptroller, who is the finance officer of this great State, and in whose wisdom it largely rests what shall be the burden of taxation; a Treasurer, who is the guardian of the money of the people, and upon whose warrant it is paid to proper or improper persons and for proper or improper purposes.

Surely it is important when we are to elect both Houses of our Legislature, one branch of which is to continue in office two years. Before that Legislature we, the Republican Party, are to

press, and the best people of all parties are to advocate, measures which are of vital interest to the morality, the prosperity and the good government of New York.

Every observer of current opinion knows that with a full vote we can elect our State ticket and two-thirds of both Houses of the Legislature. There are no dissensions in our ranks which affect unity of party action; there are no knives hidden in coat-sleeves sharpened for the ticket; and no factional disagreements which will prevent a united support of the nominees. Our differences, so far as they exist, are the proper and stimulating ambition of the leaders to deserve well of their party and receive the largest measure of its confidence.

The Administration which we elected last fall has executed its trust substantially to the entire satisfaction of the citizens who voted for it.

There has been no criticism made upon the President by those who voted against him, excepting to charge that he has been untrue to his promise of support of the civil service, but the statement of the case by the critic contains in itself fatal difficulties. It is always accompanied by the assertion that the civil service law in its letter and spirit was fully lived up to by President Cleveland. Prior to the election of Mr. Cleveland the Republican Party had been in power for twenty-five years. The succession of administrations of the same faith had created, by the ordinary operation of the laws of election, a civil service of the best character in the country. The incoming President found the offices filled with the sifted selections of his predecessors, and these selections the men of his own faith, so that competency, fidelity and integrity had come to be the rule of public employment. Mr. Cleveland found the business of government conducted on business principles by trained and competent employees. If, as the critics of Mr. Harrison say, Mr. Cleveland was an ideal civil service reformer, then where have the thousands of Democratic office holders come from whom they charge General Harrison has removed? There were only two methods of creating vacancies, one by death and the other by dismissal for cause. A search of the obituary records of the last four years fails to disclose any alarming mortality among the office holders of the Government. But the Democratic civil service reformer made a discovery which accounts for the mortality. He invented that

vaguest and darkest of crimes, "offensive partisanship." It proved more destructive than the cholera or yellow fever. That most courageous and competent of Civil Service Commissioners, Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, has discovered how the vacancies created by "offensive partisanship" were filled. The Civil Service Commissioners themselves in the various localities were the facile agency for the removal of competent officers and the appointment of those who proved unfit for their places. When General Harrison came into office it became necessary for him to restore the civil service of the country to the business-like and satisfactory condition in which it had been left by General Arthur. The removals which have been made will be sustained upon inquiry by Congress. It will be shown that there were the best of reasons for Executive action, and in selecting the men to fill the vacant places the President has very properly taken them from the great party to whose faith and principles he is committed. The Republican Party and its President believe in the civil service statutes which are upon the books, and mean that they shall be enforced in their letter and in their spirit. There will be no modification of them asked for by the President or made by Congress excepting to perfect them and in the direction which will give the best possible service in the transaction of the business of the Government of the United States.

The contest of last year closed with a great and significant victory for the principle of Protection of American Industries. The question was fairly put, honestly argued and squarely determined. The policy inherited from the fathers of the Republic and consistently pursued by Republican Administrations for a quarter of a century, had given phenomenal prosperity to the country; had developed with prodigious rapidity its resources; and had created conditions of good wages and the beneficial employment of capital unequalled in the industrial history of nations. But the very prosperity and productiveness which have flowed from the protective policy, have created the necessity for the enlargement of our commercial vision and enterprise. Rapidly as emigration, extending agriculture, new States, growing cities and reduplicating populations have increased our home market, production has kept up with and advanced beyond the demands. With competition also, inventive genius and skill have made us not only the largest manufacturing nation of the world, but have

given to our manufactures a character and excellence which commend them to every market where they are carried.

Two great continents, linked together by an isthmus and practically one, are more widely separated commercially than the hemispheres which lie on opposite sides of the globe. Eight republics in South America advancing in industrial and commercial development as rapidly as ourselves have their business interests entirely with the Old World. The South American States buy five hundred millions of dollars worth of articles every year which could be supplied by our mills and furnaces and factories. Of that vast purchase only about seventy millions are taken from us. We buy from them about two hundred millions of dollars worth a year, and pay from one hundred and twelve to one hundred and thirty millions in money which we deposit in London and spend a million dollars in commissions to English bankers to transmit to South America. Eight years ago this magnificent field for the surplus of our industries, this superb opportunity for close commercial relations, were impressed upon the mind of the then Secretary of State, James G. Blaine. Now, two of the strongest statesmen the Republic possesses, one the Chief Magistrate, and the other the Secretary of State, have taken practical steps to open the way for trade, commercial relations and intercommunication between the republics of the Southern Hemisphere and our own people. If the answer of Congress and the country is emphatic and responsive to the policy of President Harrison, we have entered upon a new era of commercial prosperity and development. It offers abundant opportunity for the energy and enterprise of the two Americas. It is the hope and also the promise of the continuance of the growth of our manufacturing interests, and the stability of employment and good wages for our mechanics, artisans and laborers.

Unable to discredit the opportunities of such a future, the free trader and the enemy of the Administration, can only urge that the Republican tariff prevents the consummation of closer relations with our Southern sisters. They are unaware, or else they ignore the fact, that eighty per cent. of the products of South America are already upon the free list and that a tariff in the hands of its friends can adjust the other twenty per cent. to the necessities of commerce with South America and its development.

But this consummation is impossible without an extension of the protective principle. Iron and cotton and wool and glass and wood, the products of the mine, of the soil and of the forest, have all received the benefit and the stimulus of the protective policy which has been withdrawn from the sea. Forty-nine thousand dollars is the extent of the subsidy which we give to carry on commercial relations between North and South America, while over four millions are paid to keep these countries in close relations and commercial bondage to Europe. The British Government pays to the ships alone that carry the products of China to the Canadian Pacific Railroad many times more than America gives to keep open its commerce with all the world. The merchant who lost the business of a continent because he would not pay a commission which would let him into its possibilities, would be relegated to a retail store in the back streets of the village where he originated.

The experience of nations has demonstrated that the aggregation of business people represented in the Government do not differ in their subordination to the laws of trade from the aggregation of individuals embodied in firms or in corporations. The Republican Party ought not only to continue affirmatively its policy for the extension of the trade and the manufactures of the nation, but to courageously take up the tariff and the internal revenue laws so as to remove any inequalities that may exist, and so as to retain money sufficient for the new Navy and for the proper payment of such subsidies as will again place an American commercial marine upon the ocean, and for the reduction of the surplus by the modification or repeal of part or all of the internal revenue taxes.

While there is harmony upon the broad lines of national policy, and the narrow ones of State measures in the Republican Party, our Democratic friends are divided by an acute struggle for the mastery in this State for the presidential nomination in 1892. Governor Hill's shot from Atlanta, "the Cyclopædic Cleveland" has echoed around the Democratic world, and been answered by a sullen and menacing growl "Who was elected, and who failed to carry the State of New York last fall, and who is to blame?" It is a singular as well as a desperate contest between a very able undertaker and a very lively corpse. The struggle between them is to determine which shall occupy the

coffin. The Republicans hold front seats while this great contest is in progress, with the intention of accompanying, with due marks of respect, the survivor to his funeral in 1892.

Not one word of criticism or condemnation has been uttered by any one against the candidates on the Republican ticket in our State this fall. Their character, their fitness and their ability are universally conceded by friend and foe alike; but our Democratic friends entered the canvass with an apology and have continued it on the defensive. Their nominations were made at a time when it seemed to them that the State was assuredly in their hands under any conditions, but as the canvass has progressed the evidences of their alarm are visible all along the line. That shrewdest and ablest of Democratic tacticians, Governor Hill, has only to say that the Convention acted according to precedent and renominations have become the settled policy of the party. But in the course of the discussion and the disclosure of the weak points of the nominees the Democratic leaders have been put in the position of the pilot who was bringing an Atlantic liner into the harbor and remarked to the captain, "I know every rock in this channel," and as the ship struck one and stove a hole in her bottom he shouted "and that is one of them." We have discovered when the State wanted an oak ceiling for an Assembly Chamber which was about ninety feet square, lumber enough was purchased and paid for to make a solid pile rising from the floor of the room to eighty feet above the roof of the Capitol, and that iron and cement enough were ordered and paid for to have broken down every ceiling in every room in that grand structure at Albany which is the pride and wonder of the State. An investigation as to what had become of this vast mass of material purchased by the State led to the discovery that by mysterious chemical processes it had melted away into a paper roof. If our Democratic friends can explain to the people and taxpayers of the State how this marvelous transformation occurred, then they are entitled to a vote of confidence.

A majority of two-thirds in each branch of the Legislature of our State which will enact wise measures for the regulation of the liquor traffic and for ballot reform, will accomplish more for the best interest of the State, than has been done in a quarter of a century. The results of high license in other States have not only put millions into the Treasury, greatly lessened the number

of saloons, and enormously improved the character of those that remain, promoted temperance and sobriety and given protection and purity to the home, but they have taken the liquor interests, as a separate power, out of politics. The vote of New York City has become so large that it exceeds the total cast by many States. Its majority not only determines the character of our city government, but with nearly evenly balanced parties, will control both the State and the Nation. This great metropolis has its government now wholly under the control of the Tammany Society. This gives the great departments of police and health and public works entirely to one organization. Our police force is the best in the world and has heretofore been managed by a non-partisan board. But one of the two Republicans has been removed and the other will be as soon as his term expires. Then we shall have the police power of the city, which also controls its election machinery, with no representation by the minority. The temptations in an exciting contest, when the fortunes of majority are at stake, to use every implement to remain in power, is one which no organization has ever yet been able to resist. The pressure of all the forces of the city government upon the saloons, boarding houses, employees on the public works, contractors and builders, is equal to tens of thousands of votes. Under the present system a voter can be chalked and identified as he deposits his ballot. It can be ascertained whether he votes in accordance with his fears, his purchase money, or his convictions. The one agency and the only one which emancipates the voter from employer, from public official, from threat and from bribe and enables him to cast his ballot as a free man, is the secret ballot under some such restrictions as are provided by the Australian or Connecticut system. Not only good government, but the stability of government itself is at stake in the integrity of the vote and the unquestioned verdict of majority. It is a system whose value has been demonstrated in Australia, in Massachusetts, in Connecticut, and which Mr. Parnell, in the interest of a vote which neither the British constabulary nor the Irish landlord can reach, has demanded for Ireland. My eloquent and able friend, Mr. Bourke Cochrane, before denouncing the secret ballot as the oppression of the laboring man, ought to have been more familiar with the utterances of the great Irish leader.

But if we ask any Democratic State officer, any Democratic

candidate for Senator, for Member of Assembly, how he stands on high license or ballot reform his answer is "I am a Democrat." If we ask any of the great leaders of the party in the country how they are upon these questions and kindred ones of revenue and finance and the burning issue of a proper vote in the South, the answer is "I am a Democrat."

I remember when old Colonel Williams kept the Eagle Hotel in Peekskill, he was anxious to sell a horse, of whose value he was in some doubt, to a New York guest of whose ignorance of horse flesh he had no doubt. While the Colonel was explaining the merits of the animal, the New Yorker said: "Colonel, has this horse ever had the glanders?" The Colonel answered: "I don't know what the glanders are, but if they are good for a horse he has had them."

We have been for ten years recalling the past in a series of Centennial Celebrations. It has been their purpose to revive the memories of the Fathers and the foundation principles of the Republic, but in the political discussion of to-day our Democratic friends say: "Don't recall the past, it promotes Sectionalism, it waves the bloody shirt." I never was more struck with the difficulties under which the Democratic organization labors in order to be national than on a recent visit which I paid to the South. Upon a tablet in a church erected to the memory of Confederate soldiers killed in battle was the legend "They died for us." This means that with the party in those States events and men are glorious memories, which the party in the North and West would like forgotten. Its fruits are not disloyalty or enmity to the Union, for the Southern people are unquestionably loyal to the nation and the flag, but it does mean a continuance and a justification of the processes by which the vote of the Freedman is either suppressed or not recorded. The indignant protest from the Southern press which has followed Governor Hill's declaration that by the education of the negro he could be elevated to the duties of citizenship, is both a warning and a menace. It means that no statesman can hope for the support of those States who believes in the full political rights of the black man under any conditions. It is for Republicans by the Blair Bill or other Government aid to educate the colored people so that they may be equal to the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and know how to maintain them, and at the same time to

see that those who are counted in the representation shall be counted at the polls.

The Republican Party of one faith, North and South, East and West, celebrating each year an anniversary which covers every year of its existence, proudly makes every act and measure which has added to the glory, power, civilization and wealth of the Republic its own Jubilee.

REPUBLICAN RATIFICATION MEETING

SPEECH AT THE REPUBLICAN RATIFICATION MEETING IN BROOKLYN, N.Y., SEPTEMBER 27, 1900.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: While in attendance last week at a joyous wedding of a young relative, the thought occurred to me of the happy results to the entire American family of the nuptials between sound money and prosperity four years ago. The paramount question to-day with us is, Shall that couple be divorced? There has been no quarrel between the principals; there has been no disagreement; there are no reasons for separation. The dissolution, if it comes at all, must be by the arbitrary act of the beneficiaries of the union.

The present campaign emphasizes the difference, in practical life, between a prophet whose predictions must stand the test of time and experience and the pledge of a party whose promises are based upon principles which have worked out in the past the results which are guarantees for the future. In other words, theory and experience are again, as in 1896, in hostile array.

The Morrell Tariff Law was passed in 1860 for the purpose of raising revenues to carry on the war. It not only did that, but it gave protection to American industries and stimulated American productiveness. Under its operations the country has advanced by leaps and bounds into the foremost place among the industrial nations of the world. From being a debtor it has become a creditor nation; from purchasing most of the necessities of life abroad it manufactures all the necessaries and most of the luxuries which its people require; from being the best market in which the foreign manufacturer could sell his goods it has occupied the home market and gone forth to compete with the older nations at their own trade centers and on all the continents and islands where the world is struggling to sell its goods.

During the whole of this period the theorists have been proclaiming that we never could have stable prosperity and never foreign markets except as we approached more nearly absolute free trade. The experiment had no opportunity for trial for

thirty years, but with the passage of the Wilson Tariff Bill in 1893 the opportunity for trial came to the professor. It is needless to recapitulate the results. Only four per cent. of the business of the country is done in currency, ninety-six per cent. of our transactions and our enterprises being based upon credit. Of course, behind the credit are the assets upon which it is based. With credit and our exhaustless resources behind it, with confidence, without which there can be no credit, there is no limit to the possibilities of American prosperity. But with the exploitation of the free trade idea came the demonstration of the interdependence of labor and capital and every business upon one another. The merchant did not dare lay in goods, because he could not safely calculate at what prices he could sell them. The manufacturer could not anticipate, as usual, the market for the coming season. The producer of raw material found no demand for his product. Soon every vocation and every enterprise were involved in a general catastrophe. It is estimated that 5,000,000 of the 20,000,000 of wage earners were thrown out of employment and 2,000,000 more were working for lower wages or on shorter time. The farmer found the harvests of his fields and his live stock selling for less than cost because of the paralysis of the purchasing power of the people. The competitors in foreign lands of our manufacturers were regaining their hold upon the American market.

Under these conditions we entered upon the canvass of 1896. Distress gave Populists and silver mine owners their opportunity, and under the lead of Mr. Bryan they captured the machine of the Democratic Party upon a revolutionary programme. Democratic statesmen of demonstrated ability, wisdom, and achievements were driven from the organization. Colonel Bryan became the prophet of the period. His prophecy was that the success of McKinley and the enactment of the gold standard would make times far worse than they were; the mortgage of the farm would be foreclosed and the free farm would be mortgaged; silver and wheat would go down together; the numbers of the unemployed would constantly increase and wages keep going lower; the currency would be contracted and the debtor class wiped out of existence; America would retire within herself for competition with the world's producers, and the lot of the American people would be one of poverty and despair.

McKinley was elected; the Wilson Tariff Bill was repealed; the Dingley Tariff Bill was enacted; the gold standard was put upon the statute books, and every one of Colonel Bryan's prophecies has come out the reverse of his predictions.

He is again a candidate of the Bryanized Democracy, the Populists, and the Free Silver Republicans. He is again seer. He prophesies as glibly as he did in 1896 upon what will happen if McKinley is re-elected. His prophecies now are based upon claims which have no foundation. "We have prosperity," he says, "but it cannot last; it is a delusion and a snare; the evils which I predicted for the gold standard will come to pass if time enough is allowed for the principle to work itself out. But it is imperialism, with its expenses, and militarism, with its destruction of liberties which are to ruin the country."

Having proved himself such a colossal failure as a prophet in 1896 we can hardly believe in 1900 that the Colonel has now the real mantle of Elijah. The difficulty with the terrors which he depicts from Republican principles and policies is that they have all been tested, both under Republican and Democratic administrations. Protection of American industries has given America to Americans, and sent forth our products to the conquest of the markets of the world. The gold standard of value has divorced us from Mexico and China, has placed us in commercial relations with and upon the same commercial basis as the great industrial nations of Christendom. It has given stability to our credit; it has made the American dollar recognized upon an equal value with the English sovereign or the French Louis everywhere around the globe; it has given steadiness to our business, unexampled credit to our Government, and is rapidly making us the creditor among nations.

The terror of imperialism is a ghost. I mean American imperialism. It has been tried for a hundred years. It was practiced by Washington; it was tested upon an enormous scale by Jefferson; it was put in operation by Monroe, Jackson, Polk, and Pierce. All gave it their sanction; all of them, to the great glory and power of our country, pursued the same path of imperialism which is now being trod by President McKinley. American militarism, which Mr. Bryan so much fears, and from which he prophesies such dreadful results, was also tried by Jefferson in Louisiana, by Jackson in Florida, by every administration in

newly acquired territories from time to time with no other results than their pacification, the restoration of peace, the opening of courts and the protection of life, liberty and property for the citizen.

A prophet who attempts to fool the people by holding up as untried theory demonstrated results, and upon that theory predicting the reverse of what history has established, insults the intelligence of every person who is familiar with the story of the marvelous growth of the United States in the nineteenth century. The Republican programme was as clear and as simple in 1896 as it is in 1900. Said Patrick Henry, in his well-remembered speech, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience; I have no way of judging the future except by the past." By these guides the Republican Party in 1896 promised, with the absolute certainty of their ability to fulfill their pledges, that if granted power they would restore to the statute book the principle of protection to American industries, and give stability to currency, to credit and to values by establishing gold as a standard for all our circulation and transactions.

Never in the history of legislation have results so quickly followed measures. The figures are not only gratifying to us, but they are the amazement and the puzzle of the Old World. Our exports have reached the amazing figure of two thousand millions. The output of our factories is rapidly overtaking the magnificent surplus of our fields. Every day's cable brings to us the news of the triumph of the American manufacturer in the competitions which are going on for railway supplies, for bridges, for electrical appliances, for harvesting machines, for textile fabrics and for steel and iron all over the earth. The most startling contrasts ever presented are the story of the balance of trade; the story of our prosperity as measured by the things which we sell in excess of the things which we buy—the surplus which must be paid for practically in cash.

For the one hundred and three years prior to the commencement of the administration of President McKinley the balance of trade in favor of the United States was \$386,000,000, while for the three years of McKinley's administration it has been \$1,600,000,000, or nearly five times that of the one hundred and three years. The effect of pouring into our lap this vast sum, and

of continuing it from year to year, is incalculable. It is felt in every avenue of business and in every employment. It has made us in a single year a creditor nation. London for nearly a century has been the money center of the globe. Now England herself has come to New York to find money for her bonds. Germany, within the past few days, has come here also for \$28,000,000. Sweden, within a short time, has borrowed more money, and Russia is also our debtor. Instead of a money starvation predicted by Colonel Bryan in 1896, the plethora of money has made it so cheap that loans on call are cheaper in Wall Street than in London, Paris, Berlin or Vienna. The surplus of the balance of trade, flowing into every business and into the farms, has placed in the vaults of the banks of Kansas and Nebraska money so largely in excess of the local needs that they are loaning it out at unprecedentedly low rates of interest at Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and New York. The \$58,000,000 borrowed of us by Great Britain, Germany, Russia and Sweden in the past few weeks have not raised the price of money to the American borrower a hundredth part of one per cent.

There never were so many farms upon which the mortgages have been paid as in the last four years; never so many farmers who could spend so much for improvements or additions. There never has been such full employment for labor, and wages have never been so high before.

We all lament the strikes. We wish they could be averted or settled. There is this difference between the strikes which were on in 1893, 1894 and 1895 and the strikes now. The strikes then were constant protests against continual reductions in wages and discharges of employees. The strikes then were often a blessing to the employers because they relieved them from the manufacture of goods for which they had no market. The strikes now are on the other side. They are to secure for labor a larger share in the prosperity and productiveness of the country. The settlement of a strike in the hard times from 1893 to 1896 meant nothing to the worker; the settlement of a strike now means his immediate re-employment. There is always a golden mean between demand on one side and resistance on the other, which should be found by amicable arrangement or by arbitration.

Mr. Bryan does not deny the wonderful prosperity of our country and of our people; he does not promise any better returns

to the farmer or the manufacturer or the merchant; he does not promise any greater employment or higher wages to the laborer; he does not promise the exploitation of new enterprises and the conditions which make money active and capital useful by new additions to the productive power of the country and therefore a larger employment and a greater distribution of money. The country is to be no better than it is to-day or was yesterday by his election even upon his own showing, upon his own prophecy and upon his own promise. His position, measured by plain standards of business, is simply this: "The country is drunk with prosperity; it is an inebriation which is unhealthy and cannot last; if you elect me I will check the pace, curtail this unhealthy expansion; my methods and my remedies will arrest the disease and eradicate it before it has destroyed the body politic." In other words, through the processes of a milder catastrophe, he will prevent the greater one which he thinks otherwise inevitable. He is the veritable successor of the doctor in the well-known and venerable story, who threw his patient into fits because he was death on fits. But, dear Doctor Bryan, except a little surface irritation here and there from too good living, there is nothing the matter with the American patient. He is in magnificent health, his vitality was never so vigorous, his brain never so active, his purposes never so clear and his future never so promising before. It will be many years before he leaves the healthy diet upon which he is now feeding for your patent medicines.

The best speech I have heard in this campaign was made by a workman in the Brooks Locomotive Works at Dunkirk, where I spoke the other day to eight or ten thousand people. Said he: "On general principles I am a Democrat as the Democratic party used to be, but I am not a Bryan man in this campaign. On the contrary, I intend to vote for McKinley. My reasons are these: In 1892 there were sixteen hundred men employed in our locomotive works and we were receiving satisfactory wages. In 1894 and 1895 the orders fell off for locomotives, so that in 1896 there were only one hundred and fifty men employed in the works. There are now twenty-two hundred employed at wages higher than we ever had before. Orders for our locomotives are coming in from all over the country and from across the Atlantic. The business is increasing. If Bryan is elected I know that I will receive no steadier employment, for now I am employed all the

while; I know that my wages will not be increased; I know that my condition cannot be any better; I am afraid that his election will create disturbances which will lead to another reduction of the productiveness of the works and of the force here employed, and among the rest I may lose for a long time my job. I know with McKinley I do not take any such risks. I am going to vote for a sure thing and not vote to peril the sure thing with the certainty that I will be no better off, but may be ruined."

The gambler's chance which Mr. Bryan presents differs from that offered in any other game ever presented to the speculative mind. If McKinley is elected, according to his game, the people lose; if Bryan is elected they lose just the same, but not so much. The unfortunate player is to see more or less of his stake disappear in either event.

Colonel Bryan is the lightning change artist on political issues. In 1896 his paramount issue was the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one. In his speech of acceptance the paramount issue was imperialism. Later the paramount issue became militarism. He ran away from sixteen to one for weeks, and then, in his letter of acceptance, made that the paramount issue. The unpopularity of this garment has led him, as he flashes around the ring, to make trusts the paramount issue. At first the importance of the issues, as he presented them, was according to their position in the platform from Kansas City. It was as if the preacher should say that stealing, adultery, murder and coveting your neighbor's wife and destroying your neighbor's family were not important because they were too far down on the list of the Ten Commandments. It is loudly proclaimed that the campaign in the State of New York is to be run upon trusts; it is given out by the Democratic National Headquarters that that issue must now be pushed in front. Feeling the popular pulse indicates that the doctrine of the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one is fatal in the East, and fighting American imperialism and American militarism is fatal in the West. And so, for a few days, the effort will be made to frighten the country upon the danger of trusts.

The only party which has ever attempted to meet the trust issue is the Republican Party. It enacted the Sherman Anti-trust Law, which is the only effective law upon the books upon that subject. It passed the constitutional amendment in the last

House of Representatives, with every Democratic vote save seven against it. I look in vain through the speeches of Mr. Bryan or any of the Democratic orators for a definition of a trust, or how to control it.

Outside of agriculture eight-tenths of the business of the country is transacted in the corporate form. The reason is that in the tremendous competition of our times great capital is required to successfully conduct large enterprises. This capital has to be the result of contributions of the many. Some gentlemen spoke to me the other day who were interested in a project for the construction of a plant for the manufacture of structural iron. They informed me that no plant now can compete with the American, English, German, French or Belgian manufacturers with a capital of less than \$5,000,000. Invention and discovery, the utilization of steam and electricity have enormously increased production and have correspondingly increased the number employed, but they have compelled the adoption of the most expensive machinery. I was told of one great mill where the invention of new and more productive machinery compelled the destroying in a single year of machinery which was comparatively new and which cost a million of dollars. Any legislation or action preventing the operation of these plants would throw eight-tenths of the skilled labor out of employment and produce the most disastrous of panics.

A trust which controls the necessities of life and prevents all competition and can dictate the price to the raw material man, to the laborer, to the carrier and to the consumer is a menace, is unlawful now and can be reached by honest prosecuting officers, and the laws to each any such trusts should be made as drastic, as searching and as effective as human language will permit.

Experience, both in England, where everything is concentrated in great plants, and in this country, has shown, in the first place, that publicity—frequent reports to public officials fully empowered to compel such reports and investigate their accuracy—are a protection both to the public and to the stockholders. It also shows that over-capitalized combinations are too weak to withstand the assaults of new enterprises of a similar character upon hard pan as to capital and with the newest appliances in the mills and factories. The American public knows, to its sorrow, of nearly a dozen such enterprises, which have gone to the wall in the last few

years, driven there by the capital, enterprise and business capacity of the new competitors.

The principles of the Republican Party have made its administrations State builders, while the Democratic leaders are archeologists. The reconstruction of the States, the protection of American industries, the resumption of specie payments, the adoption of a standard of value in harmony with the commercial nations of the world, the placing of our national credit upon such firm foundations that we can borrow money at two per cent. as against Great Britain at four, the transfer of industrial and financial supremacy from the Old World to the New, the open door to the Orient for the surplus production of our labor and skill and the foothold in the East which commands that situation, the control of the American market, the creation of conditions which place us in a position to compete in every market around the globe, prosperity for the present and security for the future—these are the achievements of Republican policies and principles and measures.

Colonel Bryan and his associates call this "imperialism." It is American imperialism. He charges the colonial policy of Rome with the destruction of the Roman Empire, but in his antiquarian research he overlooks the acquisition of Louisiana by Jefferson, out of which territory have been carved fifteen prosperous and growing commonwealths of this union, and the Indian Territory, to be ultimately divided into other commonwealths. The curator of a museum might overlook and be careless of the Sermon on the Mount or the Declaration of Independence because his mind was absorbed in deciphering an Egyptian papyrus giving the story of a dynasty six thousand years before Christ, which had never been heard of before, but there is no excuse for an American statesman, politician, student or boy forgetting that Jefferson acquired Louisiana, and Polk and Pierce California, New Mexico and Arizona and parts of Utah and Colorado and transformed them into the homes of industrious, free and happy peoples by the same processes of American imperialism.

The absurd reaches the climax of grotesqueness in the effort to make an emperor of President McKinley. For three years every friend of Colonel Bryan, in Congress, on the platform and in the press, has been seeking to discredit the President by representing him as having his ear eternally on the ground to catch

the sound of popular approval or disapproval. They have charged that he lacked the strong qualities of Jackson because he sought so eagerly and was so obedient to the popular will. Now for electioneering purposes he is a Cæsar and a Czar.

The emperor of the United States is its fifteen millions of voters. The Czar of Russia by his undisputed will governs a hundred and twenty-five millions of subjects. The people of the United States, by their imperial voice at the ballot box, govern themselves. They confide large powers to the President, and at the end of his term they call him to account for his stewardship. They put over him the Supreme Court of the United States, which can declare void and unconstitutional his acts, the Congress, which can tie his hands, refuse him supplies to carry on the Government and pass laws over his veto which reverse his policies. They authorize the House of Representatives, elected every two years, to impeach him for violation of law or the Constitution, and give the Senate power, as a court, upon these charges, to depose, disgrace and punish him. The tyranny and arbitrary power with which he is charged with governing our island possessions is precisely the same as the government by Jefferson of Louisiana, of Florida by Monroe and Jackson, under acts of Congress which placed specifically all the legislative, civil and military authority over these territories in the hands of the President of the United States.

Colonel Bryan says with a sneer that the legislation upon Porto Rico makes the citizen of that island only eighty-five per cent. of a man. The legislation for that island takes the Porto Rican out of the destitution, hopelessness and practical pauperism into which he had been plunged by hurricane and by flood, and makes him a prosperous citizen. It gives him courts, justice, the management of his own affairs in municipalities, the election of his own legislature, the imposition of his own taxes, protection for life, property and civil and religious rights, none of which did he have before.

I am a member in the United States Senate of the Committee on Pacific Islands. There came before us the representatives from Porto Rico of every industry in the island. When we learned the paralysis by the destruction caused by hurricane and flood of its three industries—coffee and sugar and tobacco—and that eighty per cent. of its people, who are agricultural laborers, were

starving and had no employment, there were two methods of meeting the emergency and resurrecting the industries of the island. One was to support the people out of the United States Treasury, which meant pauperism; the other, to provide them with the means for their own regeneration. We authorized the expenditure in relief works of over a million dollars; we returned to them the \$2,000,000 of duties which had been collected before the new schedule of the Government went into effect. We provided for a duty of fifteen per cent. upon American products going into the island which were articles of luxury, leaving the articles of necessity and education free, and we gave that money into the Porto Rican treasury. We imposed a duty of fifteen per cent. upon the products coming from Porto Rico into the United States as against the same products of Cuba, which pay one hundred per cent. and of the British islands which pay one hundred per cent. and, instead of putting that money into the treasury of the United States, we returned it to the people of Porto Rico. The moneys collected at the ports of Porto Rico by the customs authorities upon articles imported from foreign countries, instead of going into the treasury of the United States, also go into the treasury of Porto Rico. With these funds roads are being built, schoolhouses erected, the government of the island carried on and measures of relief prosecuted which give employment to the people and the opportunities for the rehabilitation of its industries to the island. Every dollar collected upon dutiable goods, which are bought by the inhabitants of New Mexico, Arizona and our other territories, goes into the United States treasury. Internal revenue taxation is extended over these same territories, from which Porto Rico is exempt. The island legislature can at any moment change the method of taxation, and raise revenues directly if they see fit, but in the meantime this beautiful possession in the Pacific, which guards our interests in the Gulf of Mexico, the Nicaraguan Canal, and our Pacific and Southern coasts, is the petted and favored child of the Republic.

The two other dangers to our institutions, according to our friends the enemy, are militarism and the department store, both threatening our liberty and our independence. We cannot be too often reminded of the difference between our armies and the conscripted forces of Europe. War and peace with citizen soldiers have received two marvelous illustrations and presented two won-

derful pictures in our history. These pictures stand in the forefront to the credit of representative government and a people governing themselves. The one is the Continental Army under Washington, ragged, footsore and unpaid, instead of seizing the Government on the example of all history, disbanding and returning to their dismantled homes as private citizens; the other the million men under Grant, saluting the great commander as they marched past when the war was over, and then returning to the industries from which they volunteered to save the Republic. We have seventy-seven millions of people and one hundred thousand soldiers. By the operations of the Military Act this will be reduced to a very much smaller number within two years. We have in the State of New York about seven millions of people. We have, if all the reserves were called out, a million and a half of fighting men. The proportion of the Army of the United States, with its one hundred thousand, for the State of New York would be about seven thousand seven hundred. When Colonel Bryan comes I can assure him that no matter how great his fears or how real his terrors the seven millions of people and the million and a half of fighting men in the State of New York do not expect to have their liberties taken away by seven thousand seven hundred United States soldiers, none of whom could do anything in that line if they would, and none of whom would if they could.

Jefferson governed thirty-five thousand Frenchmen in Louisiana without asking their consent; Monroe imposed courts, taxation, and government upon thousands of Spaniards, Americans, and English in Florida without asking their consent; Jackson licked or locked up those who refused to give their consent. Alaska has been governed since its purchase by Democratic and Republican Presidents upon executive order and without consultation with its inhabitants.

The consent of the governed is a question far more acute in the eleven States which are sure for Bryan, because the people of these old commonwealths are governed without their consent, than it is in our new territories. North Carolina would be for McKinley by a large majority if its people were permitted to vote. Even Louisiana would be fighting ground if the polls were free. The canvass in those States is already made. Their electoral votes are secured. The elections will be perfunctory because it is a count by partisan inspectors and not the voice of the people.

Colonel Bryan, when asked what he had to say about taking away the suffrage from people who had had it for a quarter of a century and a generation, dodged the question by saying that it was a race question. But this legislation is far more reaching than a mere race question.

During the existence of the American Party, whose motive was the prevention of our foreign-born citizens from voting and holding office, many of these States were carried by the party, and in all of them it was very strong.

These Constitutional amendments under which the inspectors of election can disfranchise a negro, can be used with equal efficiency against the foreign-born citizens if the inspectors so choose. In broad terms the Constitutional amendments in the Southern States for disfranchising the negro voter provide that the board of inspectors in each election district, appointed, as they are, by Democratic officials, shall be the judges of the qualifications of a voter; that they must be satisfied that he can read and write, and that he can read intelligently the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of his State. If, however, he or his ancestor had the right to vote in 1867—that is prior to the adoption of the Constitutional amendments freeing the slaves and giving them civil rights, and State laws granting suffrage to the negroes—then he can vote, though he may not be able to either read or write.

Now for the practical application. Suppose there is a German, Irishman, Scandinavian, or Italian who has been attracted to the South by its great opportunities for industrial development. He is intelligent, and he sees that under conditions as they exist with McKinley's administration the wonderful development of iron and cotton industries of the South must continue. He, therefore, wants to vote for, and proclaims he is going to vote for, McKinley, the gold standard, the protection of American industries and the new markets for the products of the South, in which he has invested either his capital or his labor and certainly has invested the future and the prospects of his sons. He goes to the polls with a negro graduate of Yale or Harvard and a Carolina cracker. The inspectors say first to the negro, "Can you read and write?" "Yes." "Can you interpret understandingly that clause of the Constitution of the United States?" "Yes." The negro reads. The inspectors declare that it is not an intelli-

gent interpretation and they say, "You cannot vote." Then comes the foreign citizen who has expressed his views and is proud of them. The inspectors say, "Can you read and write?" "Yes." "Can you explain understandingly this clause of the Constitution of the United States?" "Yes." He gives an explanation which is far clearer than any of the inspectors could give, but they declare that it is not satisfactory, and he is disfranchised. Then comes the Carolina cracker. They say to him, "Can you read?" "No." "Can you write?" "No." "Do you know any of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States?" "No." "Did you vote in 1867?" "No, but my grandfather did." "All right; deposit your ballot; you are a citizen."

Every man and every woman whose income is dependent upon active business or employment should, in the interest of himself or herself or the family, carefully ponder this situation. I believe Mr. Bryan to be honest in his convictions and to have the courage of them, and that, if President, he will carry them, as far as he has the power, into official action and legislative sanction.

He says that as soon as he is inaugurated he will call a special session of Congress; that he will present to that body a message stating that the people have ratified by his election the planks of the Kansas City platform, and demanding that they be immediately enacted into laws; he will say that prior to the enactment of those laws, as far as the executive has the power, he will act upon these popular instructions. He proposes that they repeal the gold standard bill and authorize the opening of the mints to the silver mine owners for the free coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen to one. That is to say, that while now, all over the world, it takes thirty-four pounds of silver to buy one pound of gold, as far as it can be done by the sanction of the Government, he will stamp that silver so that sixteen pounds of silver can buy one pound of gold. Of course, the operation of this would be at once to drive all of the gold out of the country and to place the United States on a silver basis. He will say that he will pay all Government obligations, which can be so done, in silver. He will declare his purpose to give to the Filipinos, that is, to the Tagal Tribe, the Philippine Islands and withdraw our troops and lower our flag and then ask authority to extend the Monroe Doctrine across the Pacific and use the Army and Navy to prevent

the Viscayans and the Moros and the Maccabees, who may be oppressed by the Tagals, from seeking help from murder and loot by the Tagals by appealing to Great Britain, Russia, Germany or France. He will advise the repeal of the Dingley tariff law and the enactment of a measure for revenue only.

There is not an American, who will calmly and without partisan prejudices study that programme, who will not see that whatever may be the ultimate result of the policy years hence, by its immediate effect every industry in the country would stop. The merchant would not buy, the manufacturer would not manufacture, the raw material man would have no market and the farmer would again find there was no purchasing power, because labor would have no employment. All the nations of Europe are producing far more than their people can consume of manufactured articles. The same is now true of the United States. European governments are increasing their armies and navies to secure spheres of influence and greater markets in Asia and Africa to prevent congestion at home. By the victories of our Armies and Navies in the Spanish War—Santiago, San Juan Hill, and Manila Bay—the United States, almost in a day, secured vast markets in the islands of the seas, was placed in a position to make the Pacific Ocean practically an American lake, and by the possession of Manila and its harbor at the door of the Orient, gained a depot and warehouse for our products and a port for our Navy. The quick apprehension of our power by European nations and the effect of our favor or our enmity in the delicate adjustment of the balance of power between them, have led to all of them responding with unanimity and cordiality to the request of President McKinley and his Secretary of State, John Hay, for the open door for our products, on equal terms, to all the East.

With the election of McKinley and of Roosevelt all that we have won by the energy, industry and inventive skill of our people is secure. The highways of commerce to the Eastern continents and islands, where two-thirds of the people of the earth on the other side of it from us can become our customers, will be kept open. Our country may grow in population and expand limitlessly in productive power, but our children and our children's children will be safe in American opportunities for a living and for rising under American conditions to political distinction and business success.

In the place of a dreamer and a theorist, an orator, elevated by the glowing pictures of his own imagination above the practical things of earth to the pursuit of stars, we can secure for another term an American citizen who has always been in full accord in war and peace with the best instincts of the American people, a President, who, as Commander-in-Chief, organized and prosecuted, with marvelous skill and energy, a war with one of the old nations of Europe, a diplomatist who has won concessions from the cabinets of Europe, of greater benefit to our country than any other diplomatic triumph since the treaty of Jay, a chief magistrate who has pacified Cuba, given law and order to Hawaii, justice and resurrection to Porto Rico and an American Government and the bill of rights of the Constitution of the United States to the people of the Philippines.

The election of McKinley and Roosevelt will be for the best interest of every man, woman and child in the country. With them we shall continue to have what we want. Therefore, let us make sure of it by electing them.

REPUBLICAN EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION

SPEECH AT A RECEPTION TO THE REPUBLICAN EDITORIAL ASSOCIATION AT THE REPUBLICAN CLUB, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 11, 1900.

GENTLEMEN: It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of the Republican Club, to welcome to our House the Republican Editorial Association of the State of New York.

This club is in full harmony with the principles you advocate and the work you do. None of the laborers who are striving to reap a Republican harvest would be more gladly received than you are by this organization. My own relations with you have been most cordial for more than a quarter of a century.

Great as was the gratification of receiving the election to the United States Senate by the unanimous choice of the Republicans in the Legislature, the recollection which I most value is the fact that before the canvass had been started every Republican newspaper in the State advocated my nomination and election. Your Association made me its first and its only candidate, and I take this opportunity to express to you my profound acknowledgment for the compliment.

The Republican press of the country has never done such efficient service as in this campaign. It has had a brilliant opportunity and has seized it with wonderful ability and wisdom. On our own side it has presented the principles on which the Republicans rely for success. It has demonstrated that the working out of those principles has resulted in the phenomenal prosperity which the country now enjoys. But its greatest and most successful efforts have been in bringing its batteries to bear for the dislodgment of the enemy from the positions which he occupies. It has shelled our opponents from nearly every one of their intrenchments. It has caused them to abandon Fort Imperialism, Fort Militarism, Fort Free Silver, Fort Free Trade, and left only here and there a straggler in Fort Trust.

The shifting and shifty conditions of the Bryanistic canvass are best illustrated by the daily speeches of the candidate. He no

longer discusses any of the issues presented either in his own platform or in ours. He has got far away from Kansas City declarations and fears to tackle those of the Philadelphia convention. I have been, during the last few days, in the neighborhood where his speeches are delivered and where the full reports are made, which we fail to get in New York. They are devoted entirely to inflammatory appeals to the passions of the people. They are wild efforts to array the different sections of the community against each other in venomous hostility. They proclaim a revolutionary program by presenting employer and employees as natural enemies and every man who is unemployed as the enemy of the man who has work, and those who have little, as the enemies of those whom they suppose have more. The doctrines which he now preaches day by day carried to their radical conclusions would disorganize society, disrupt industries, and lead to the overturning of all present conditions in the hope or expectation of building a new social order upon better ones. The difficulty with Mr. Bryan's program of destruction is that he presents no plan for re-construction, no way in which harmonious relations can be brought about and peace prevail in our communities after the battle is over and the dead are buried. He presents no plan by which the conditions of any portion of our fellow citizens can be bettered; no plan by which business can be improved; no plan by which employment can be enlarged or wages advanced. He simply assails all present conditions as bad and says that after the flurry is over, if his views should succeed, there will come an adjustment. He fails, however, to tell us what form that adjustment will take.

I have been on the platform and traveled extensively over the country in every presidential election during the past forty years. This experience gives a trained sense of the trend of public opinion. The canvass made by the several local committees of the two parties has its value, but I rely more, in forming an opinion as to the results, upon the currents of opinion as I have learned by experience to recognize them. It was as plain to me in 1892 that we were to be defeated as it is now that we are to be successful. Three weeks ago was the ebb of the tide of Republican success. There was a singular apathy and indifference everywhere; also that combination of oppositions which always exists after four years when a President is renominated. The

flood set, or, rather, began to move rapidly about ten days ago and is now rising with phenomenal speed and volume. By an apparently common impulse all over the country, in all occupations and industries, the acute question came home to men and women alike "What are we to gain by turning McKinley out and putting Bryan in?" The more the man who has a good business and the man who has a good job, and a permanent one, revolved this question, and the more it was discussed in the home circle, the greater appeared the peril of the success of the Bryanistic Democracy. Every one saw that neither business nor employment nor wages would be any better with the election of Mr. Bryan. They saw that he, even, did not promise or hold out any hope that the present conditions would be improved. They saw that if he called an extra session of Congress and attempted to put in practise his program of free silver, free trade and the abandonment of the Philippines, distrust would seriously affect, if not paralyze, all business, and that no one could foretell how long this paralysis would last.

I have met hundreds of Democrats who have said, "We hope the Democratic Party, if defeated in this canvass, will re-organize upon a basis where we will not have to contemplate the almost certainty of serious disaster to our business and our employment if it succeeds." The trend, therefore, of opinion to-day everywhere is that we are safe and secure in the present conditions and we have a prospect of their being better if McKinley's term is extended for another four years. We have no certainty of either if Mr. Bryan is elected, and therefore we will not take that chance.

The humor of the campaign sometimes presents in a nut-shell a pregnant argument. I heard some commercial travelers on the train discussing the situation. All but one said that they found the orders which they secured had a string tied to them, that string meaning that the order was to be cancelled if Mr. Bryan was elected, as the purchaser did not care to risk the purchase until he found out how that election was to affect business and the demand for goods. One man said he had sold a large order of carriages, another of steel machinery, another electrical appliances, another manufactured goods, but with this discouraging condition. One man then spoke up and said: "Well, gentlemen, I am happy to say that my experience differs from yours. I

never before in my experience have sold so many goods, and there is no string to the sale." The question instantly was asked, "What do you sell?" He said, "tomb-stones. My customers say that if the predicted hard times come with Mr. Bryan's election, they want at least to be sure of having in the family a reputable, reverential and lovingly permanent tribute to the departed, so these tomb-stones are laid away and every expense that could be put upon them in the way of names, birth, scriptural text and recital of virtues is inscribed. The only vacant place is the date."

It is both important and fortunate that thus, a few weeks before election this influential body which so intelligently expresses and so ably advises public opinion should meet for consultation. When journalists gather together they always have a good time and give enjoyment to those who are fortunate enough to be their guests. I am sure that your present visit to New York will be no exception to this experience, and the Republican Club hopes that to the full extent of your time you will enjoy and utilize its hospitality.

NEW YORK FUSION TICKET

CAMPAIGN SPEECH IN FAVOR OF THE FUSION TICKET IN NEW YORK CITY, NOVEMBER 1, 1901.

FELLOW CITIZENS: Two weeks after I left Yale, I entered the canvass of that year and stumped the State. Thus, for forty-five years, without any interruption, I have taken part in every National and State canvass. In looking back over the issues, the characteristics of each campaign and the candidates, I find that everyone of them was distinctly individual and interesting. No more readable book could be written than a graphic description of these forty-five campaigns; but while each had its feature which marked it from every other, there was running through all of them this likeness: The party in power was generally on the defensive and presenting a vigorous explanation and justification for its policy and acts; the party out of power was aggressive, full of charges and of reasons why there should be a change of administration; it has sometimes happened that the party in power presented, not by way of defence, but by way of glory, its principles, its policies and its measures, and at the same time attacked those who were seeking the public confidence.

This campaign differs from any which we have known for half a century. In fact, I think, it differs from any in the whole history of the politics of our State or of our country. It is not a party campaign. There is no party, in the national sense, on one side or the other. On one side is Tammany Hall in possession of the city, its offices, and its revenues. Tammany Hall is not a political party. It has often been in direct opposition to the party with which it is generally affiliated. It is in alliance in this campaign with the McLaughlin machine of Kings County, and nine times out of ten Tammany Hall and the McLaughlin machine have been hostile to each other. On the other hand there are ten organizations—independent Democrats, citizens who act independently of all parties and for the public good only in municipal elections, German and other national organizations, and the regular organization of the Republican Party—supporting Mr.

Low. Now, the united opposition, known as the Fusion Party, make distinct and terrible charges against the administration of this city for the last four years under Tammany Hall. They charge that the salaries of the officials have been enormously and unjustifiably increased. They charge that the taxation has enormously increased. They charge that there has been an addition of nearly one-third to the expenditures of the city, with practically nothing to show for it, and that this one-third is as large as the expenditures of the State governments of nearly all the States in the Union. They charge that in certain districts of the city vice has not only gone without restraint but has been under the protection of the section of the police of those districts. It is charged that the Street Department has expended one-third more than Waring with one-third less results. It is charged that bitter partisanship has been carried to such an extent in city privileges, public contracts and all the multitudinous things which should be open to every citizen upon equal terms, that there has been virtually created a trust to do the public work, handle the public money and spend the public taxes. Now, this campaign differs from all others in the fact that not one of these charges is denied. Mr. Shepard, the candidate of Tammany and of the Brooklyn machine, meets all such charges by the simple statement: "I am an honest man and a Democrat." The platform upon which he stands justifies everyone of these allegations by stating that they are all in the interest of good government and what the people of this town want. Mr. Shepard comes before the public asking for their suffrages for Mayor upon his past record, his high character, and his intelligence. He appeared before the great audience in Tammany Hall in the longest speech which has been made in this canvass, and which, after a careful perusal, seems to me to mean nothing and to promise nothing. There have been only two effective speeches, two expressions of policy made by the Tammany side, one by Mr. Shepard, who claims that he represents the Democratic Party and not Tammany Hall, and the other a distinct statement, applauded in Tammany Hall circles, of what Tammany means and what she can do. The Shepard speech is eight columns of glittering generalities; the other speech was made by Chief of Police Devery, who, standing behind the declaration of Mayor Van Wyck that he was the best Chief of Police this city ever had, said, "No matter who is elected I stay in;

nobody can get me out." Devery's speech goes further and deals in natural history. He compares the energetic and brilliant candidate for District Attorney to a rhinoceros and says that the rhinoceros plunges to the bottom of the river and then comes up and spouts. My impression is that the Chief meant a hippopotamus. Certainly the Chief should admire the hippopotamus when he considers its open mouth and its strength of jaw.

Mr. Shepard says, "I decline to say what I will do in reference to the police against whom all these scandals are alleged; I decline to say what I will do in reference to these questions which have been raised, indicating that great reforms are necessary for the good government of this city." He presents the novel excuse that the Constitution forbids the offering of considerations for the votes of the people. If the candidate cannot tell the people what his policy and purposes are, how are the people to know, and how are they to vote on matters which so intimately affect their welfare? William McKinley didn't believe it to be against the Constitution or against propriety to say that if elected he would carry out the policy of the protection of American industries and appeal to the people to support him because he would. Grover Cleveland did not hesitate to say that if elected he would, as far as possible, do away with the protective tariff and inaugurate another system, and he appealed to the people to support him on that issue. Samuel J. Tilden, when he ran for Governor, did not hesitate to say that the canals were full of corruption in their repairs and in their construction, and that if elected he would "turn the rascals out"; he would arrest and try the thieves; he would compel them to disgorge and put the money back into the public treasury.

There has nothing in this campaign been said against Tammany Hall so severe, so direct, and so to the point as will be found in the speeches made by the present candidate, Mr. Shepard, in 1893 and 1897. In 1897 he said that Tammany Hall was a blot upon the politics of the country; that it was unfit to be entrusted with power and that it would use that power against the interests of the community and corrupt it. He said that Seth Low, whom he supported, possessed every qualification to be Mayor of New York, and that good government, good morals, and good citizenship demanded his election. It is the same Seth Low who is running now, representing precisely the same thing

with the addition of one organization—the Republican—which he did not have in 1897. We have had four years of Tammany Hall; the predictions in regard to the government we would have under Tammany Hall by Mr. Shepard in 1897 have all come to pass. They are of record; they are not denied; Mr. Shepard does not deny them. Then what is his position, when he accepts the nomination from Tammany Hall, which he so bitterly denounced, that he did in 1897 and receiving the same non-partisan support, from the Kings and Willoughby Street machine which he so bitterly denounced in 1893? He admits that neither of them has changed in any respect since his utterances of 1893 and 1897, but he appeals for the suffrages of his fellow citizens on the ground that if once made Mayor he will alone reform Tammany and purify the Kings County machine. Every candidate upon the ticket with him is a Tammany man, tried and true, pledged to the Tammany organization and to carry out Tammany methods. If he is elected he carries with him the whole Tammany machine and will be a figurehead as absolutely helpless as a child. It will be a miracle if he escapes being Tammanyized himself, because of the difficulties of a tenderfoot like Shepard escaping the influence of the environment and the surroundings of his position. He will not be permitted to see anything except through Tammany spectacles, or hear anything except through Tammany ear-trumpets. He may think that he will be in the position of Daniel in the lion's den, but it is not recorded that Daniel succeeded in reforming the lion; it is not believed that the same power which closed the lion's jaws for Daniel will be exerted for Shepard. The den into which Shepard goes is not a den of lions but a den of tigers, and he must either become a tiger or be devoured.

This whole question is befogged by Mr. Shepard and by his literary bureau in the effort to make it appear that this is a National issue and a National election. Fortunately after twenty-five years of effort, those who are interested in municipal government and municipal reform have separated the city elections from the State and National contests. We do not this year elect members of Congress, nor State Senators; there is to be no election for United States Senator next winter and no one now elected is to pass upon that question. The assemblymen who go to Albany will go there to legislate purely upon State affairs; no National matter is to be considered in this canvass. A vote for Tammany

or a vote against Tammany can by no stretch of imagination be a vote for tariff or for free trade, be a vote for the gold standard or for silver at sixteen to one, be a vote for the retention or the giving up of the Philippines, be a vote for imperialism or anti-imperialism. The government of a city is like that of a business house or of a corporation; it is purely a matter of business from beginning to end. We have in this town 3,500,000 people. They cannot attend to the business of the municipality. They must, therefore, select, the same as the stock-holders of a bank or the stock-holders of any corporation do, the men who should manage their affairs. The voters of this town, the men of this town, go about their work, attend to their business whatever it may be, and rely and must rely upon the officials whom they select and elect to manage and administer the affairs of the city so that they shall be safe in their homes, in their property and in their lives; so that the health and sanitation of this great town may be properly looked after and the sewerage shall be done in the best manner possible; so that the police shall perform the great and important duties which rest upon these protectors of the public and that the Fire Department, and the Health Department, and the Charities Department and the Prisons Department shall all perform their work efficiently and economically; to so administer the docks that the commerce of the city may be encouraged and a proper revenue derived from them; to so administer the parks that people may find them a protected place for recreation for their women and their children; to so provide small parks that neighborhoods where it is difficult for the people to reach the distant parks may find near at hand places for recreation; and especially to provide the city with ample school facilities. It is a failure of good government when any child is deprived of a seat in the public schools and the opportunities for education and good citizenship which it is the duty of the city government to provide. All these great matters are purely subjects of business and business administration. Every man is interested to the extent, pecuniarily, that he is called upon to contribute his part, that his money shall be properly and honorably collected and properly and honestly expended. Every sinecure where a lazy and worthless creature draws a salary, every piece of work which costs more than it would under private conditions and is so administered as to squander the revenues, is corruption and a crime.

Now, the expenses of the city have grown in the last four years \$28,000,000 a year; the salary list has grown \$9,000,000 a year. We are not shown any balance sheets; we are not given an exhibit of any results by which the citizen can learn or the taxpayer can know that he has received \$30,000,000 or \$30 worth for this great increase in the burdens of our people. It is one of the fallacies widely prevalent that the people who have no property but who work for salaries or wages are not interested in taxes. I have heard many men who live by salaries or wages say "I am glad when the taxes are high, because it makes the rich pay more and I want them to pay more into the public treasury and for public improvements." But in this administration of the last four years this \$28,000,000 of increase each year has not gone into public improvements nor been expended for the public benefit. As near as can be ascertained it has not gone to the 3,500,000 people and for their benefit, but in one form or another to the 4,000 office holders and to the contractors and their beneficiaries under Tammany Hall.

Taxes, like a stone thrown in the water, sink to the bottom. If they become oppressive to the rich or those sufficiently well-to-do to be able to move, they find a ready retreat to Westchester, to Long Island, to New Jersey, or to Connecticut. The landlord adds the whole or a part of the taxes to the rent, and that increase is paid by the tenant. As the taxes increase so go up the rents for apartments, whether they are six rooms or one room for the house, whether it is great or small; so go up the rents for the store, the shop and the coal yard or the wood yard. The merchant adds the increased rent to the things that he sells, so that in the end a very large proportion, and an unduly large proportion of the taxes of the community is paid by the people who are living closely upon their wages or their salaries. It appears in their increased rentals, in the increased cost for their clothing, in the increased prices for their food and for their coal and for their wood and for their ice.

I have no doubt, as a business man, that if the affairs of this great city could be administered upon business principles, like a great department store or a great railway, or a great banking house, this municipal business could be conducted for thirty per cent. less than its present cost. Now to so conduct it we have to choose between the experience of Mr. Shepard and the experience

of Mr. Low. We will admit Mr. Shepard's ability as a lawyer, his integrity as a man. He never has managed great business enterprises or municipal business. Seth Low, on the other hand, was elected as a non-partisan and reform Mayor of the City of Brooklyn. He so conducted the business of that Municipality that he was almost the unanimous choice for a re-election. At the end of four years the City of Brooklyn was the model for all the municipalities of the country for the efficiency, the excellence, and the economy of its government.

He accepted the presidency of Columbia College. Columbia, the oldest of our State institutions and one of which our city and State and country should be proud, was a college, when Mr. Low became its president, with about twelve hundred students and less than one hundred instructors. At the end of twelve years he leaves it at the urgent call of his fellow citizens to help and serve them, but in that twelve years the University has grown until its buildings upon the Heights are the admiration of the city. Its instructors have increased to nearly three hundred and its students to nearly five thousand. With the rarest unselfishness and generosity, though by no means a rich man in the modern sense by which rich men are reckoned, he gave one-half his fortune to the University, and its physical evidence is a library building which is one of the ornaments and sights of our great city, without which the University would be unequal to the present and to its great future; and in addition he provided a fund so that for all time a large number of students, coming through our common and high schools, with the ability and ambition to make great careers in the world, will receive at Columbia free tuition. It is with this equipment, and not that of a critic only, and a professional reformer only, that Seth Low will come, full of experience, full of vigor and training and demonstrated ability, full of the profoundest sympathy with the people, to the administration and government of this great city.

I have read with grief the things that have been said against the police of New York. I know hundreds of them personally and I believe that the seven thousand policemen of this great city are, as a body, efficient, courageous, and honest officers. But it is proved by the Committee of Fifteen, appointed by the general body of the citizens, of whom a majority are Democrats, by the Committee of Five appointed by Tammany Hall, of whom all are

Democrats, by the records of the courts, and by the trials before the Commissioner of Police, that conditions exist in certain districts in this city which are a disgrace to municipal government, which cast a stain and a cloud upon the fair name of our great town and which could not exist for twenty-four hours without the connivance and assistance and the protection of the police of those districts. I read the sentence passed upon the cadet of the Red Light district by Judge Foster with its scathing denunciation, by Judge Newburger with its scathing denunciation, by Judge Fursman with its equally scathing denunciation, and there we find upon the records of the court that an industry has been carried on in these few districts which could not be conducted in Bulgaria, or Roumania, or any one of the places where lawlessness is supposed to prevail, without exciting the indignation and horror of the civilized world. The Reverend Mr. Paddock swore, and his testimony is borne out by another distinguished clergyman and by Bishop Potter, that he called the attention of the police captain to these conditions and the police captain said these conditions did not exist, although they were carried on every day in front of the police station. It is demonstrated that young girls can be kidnapped and then sold into slavery, and from that slavery they cannot escape. When Captain Titus went down to that district he demonstrated that he could find out instantly who the kidnapers were, where the kidnapped were sold, and secure their immediate release.

A clergyman in Harlem tells a story which is so grotesque that it would be amusing except that nothing which violates law and order is ever amusing. He says that a gambling establishment was opened in the house adjoining the rectory or parsonage or manse of his church; that the noise became so great he went to the police station across the street and complained to the police captain and sergeant. They said they did not know of any gambling place there and did nothing in the matter. The clergyman then complained to the policeman on the block who said he must be mistaken. Then he went to the gambler himself. He felt so sure of his position and protection that he said, "Parson, I will paint my door white so that my patrons won't be ringing you up all night hereafter." No man supposes but that most of the policemen in that district hated the duty that was imposed upon them; hated that they should be deprived of the privilege of per-

forming their duty; they were probably men of family, with daughters of their own and sons of their own, whom they wished protected. But their excuse is that the district leader has such power at headquarters, if they should perform their duty they would be transferred and sent to distant posts far away from their homes, from their families and from their domestic life. The story of policeman O'Neil seems to prove that such has been the case. Of the thirty-six district leaders, if there are that number, thirty, or thirty-two or thirty-three may be gentlemen who never would permit such things in their district, but what we want is a municipal government which will not allow any one district leader, or all the district leaders together, or any combination whatsoever, the power to create any such conditions in any district or block of this city. We want a cure for police ophthalmia, or color-blindness, and give a clearer and purer vision to the guardians of our peace, of our homes, of our lives, of our property, of our boys, and of our girls.

Every business man, every man in any way connected as an employee with a business, or a corporation, judges of its management by little quite as well as great things. Every city in the world, both large and small—I may say every village in the world—has for the convenience of its inhabitants and the guidance of strangers, street signs at the corners. This may seem a simple matter but there is none more important, both for the guidance of residents and strangers, and for the shop-keepers who wish to attract or to keep their customers. Alone of all places of all countries of this wide world, New York bears upon its street corners no indication by which one of its inhabitants, or a sojourner within its gates, can pilot himself or herself through the labyrinth of its highways. Familiar as I am with its streets I lose time every day in keeping appointments because I cannot recollect what sort of a looking house or store, or building marks the place near where I must get out of the surface car or the elevated train, and which is my only guide. I know that this is a tremendous handicap to the small storekeepers of the city. The great department stores can usually be found, but when a person wishes to purchase at a small establishment the trouble of finding it is so great that the purchase is abandoned. A Tammany friend of mine said, "Well, why don't people take cabs?" I answered, "No one but Tammany office-holders can afford four or five dol-

lars a day for cabs; besides, there are not cabs and carriages enough on the island to take care of those who are willing and able to employ them." Now, when such a glaring act of incapacity, or inability, or indifference, as you please to call it, insults the intelligence and injures the business and attacks the comfort of our citizens, it is almost as serious an indictment against the government of the city as many of the graver charges which are made.

Mr. Shepard, in his evasions of the vital issues of the campaign and in his effort to attract votes by generalizations has made only two statements of policy. They come dangerously near his definition of unconstitutionality, but as they are the only ones he has made we must accept them as his platform. One is that he will see that ash-cans are removed from the streets, and the other is that he thinks the outburst of Chief Devery was indiscreet. But in his able and adroit presentation of his canvass, while stating that he takes back nothing he has ever said against Tammany Hall, he endeavors to minimize the charge by saying that Tammany was organized a hundred years ago as a charitable society. We are not concerned with what Tammany did one hundred years ago, but we do know that the Tammany of to-day does not meet the Scriptural definition of charity which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things for the sake of humanity." On the contrary, if it is a charitable organization it meets and fills better than any other that ever existed the definition of the cynic that, "True charity begins at home." He calls attention to the fact that in the hundred years of its existence great men have belonged to Tammany Hall. In our generation the two greatest and ablest Democrats our city has produced did belong to Tammany Hall. One of them was Samuel J. Tilden, who left Tammany and organized the reform movement which drove that organization from power, its office holders from the country, and put it out of politics for years. The other, Abram S. Hewitt, is usefully employing a serene and honored retirement by playing the schoolmaster to the naughty boy across his knee with a broad and vigorously applied ferule on Mr. Shepard for taking the Tammany nomination for Mayor.

The one point most strongly dwelt upon, not only by Mr. Shepard, but by all the Tammany orators, is that Tammany stands for personal liberty, not only under a government by Tam-

many, but a government of Tammany, by Tammany, for Tammany; that only under Tammany can there be that liberty of the citizen which is granted by the Constitution and set forth in brilliant language in the Declaration of Independence. The whole idea of American liberty, its sum and substance, is the equality of all men before the law, the equality of all women and of all children before the law. If one man is permitted to violate the law because he pays its guardians and another man is arrested because he does not, that is a violation of personal liberty. If one fruit vender is permitted to display his fruit on the sidewalk because he belongs to Tammany Hall and another is arrested because he votes for Seth Low, that is a violation of personal liberty. If licenses are given for the conduct of legitimate business which requires licenses, and then with this full liberty under the law to transact business that man who has to deplete his revenues and injure his family by paying tribute to inspectors or the police is a victim of a violation of personal liberty. If one architect can get privileges which another cannot, if one builder can get privileges which another cannot, if the public work is so managed that one contractor can always get it and another cannot, that is the grossest violation of personal liberty. Personal liberty means that the courts and the Mayor and the police and the authorities of every department shall devote themselves to the public interest and stand absolutely impartial as between individuals; that no matter what may be the politics, what may be the religion, what may be the race, what may be the native language of the citizen who has accepted our citizenship, he shall have absolute, unquestioned equality in the exercise of that calling by which he earns his living, supports his family and in doing that illustrates good citizenship. We find ourselves overwhelmed, and we have been for years overwhelmed, with testimony that this personal liberty, absolute equality in the occupations, the business and the callings of our citizens does not exist in this great city of New York. Elect Seth Low and it will exist. Surround him in his election with those who are on the ticket with him and it will exist to a larger extent; give him a Board of Apportionment where he will have a controlling voice in the raising of the money, and the imposition of taxes, and it will exist.

Whatever may be said against the press, its whiteness or its yellowness, its tendency to sensationalism or its espionage into

private affairs of individuals, the American press taken as a whole fairly represents public opinion, American morality, American standards of American public and private life. No such exhibition was ever seen or known before in a contest for the government of a great community like New York, a community which is larger than most states, as that we are now witnessing, where, without regard to affiliations of any kind, every newspaper but one of the dailies and every newspaper but one of the weeklies, is for the Fusion ticket. With the enormous power of Tammany Hall, with its boundless resources in money, if the press were venal or purchasable, there would be a wide divergence of newspaper activities in a contest like this. But no country where free press exists has ever witnessed a more magnificent illustration of its independence than is seen in the unanimity with which our newspapers are acting in this election. Such an exhibition, remarkable in itself, is not only an evidence, and the highest evidence, of journalistic independence, but it is the most crushing indictment that could possibly be framed against the continuance of the present city government and in favor of this Fusion movement by which the good men of all parties have united for the reformation of the city of New York and the good government of this great and glorious municipality.

When New York, by consolidation, became the second city of the world, the attention of the able men of all countries who are studying the municipal problem, which is the most acute one we have, was called to the new movement of popular government in great cities. The press of other lands devote more attention to New York City and the operations of its government than they do to all the rest of the United States put together. When they find that it costs nearly twice as much to govern New York as it does London, though London has twice as many inhabitants, they are astounded; when they are told, as they are by the newspapers, that notwithstanding that expenditure London gets more in all the business of municipal government—from the streets, from sanitation, from the police and fire departments, from the docks and public buildings than does New York, then their wonder is still more increased. When these indictments, sustained by evidence and by the verdicts of the courts, about complicity with vice are published in full and copied from our daily press and illuminated by the correspondents of the European journals in

our midst, then every high-minded, right-minded, and intelligent man who believes in government "of the people, by the people and for the people" is simply amazed at the result. The Londoner is enormously proud that he is a citizen of the foremost city in population, in wealth, and in the concentration of all that makes for art and literature, in all that makes for opinion and brains and energy in the Old World. The citizen of Paris—I may say the citizen of France—whenever he is abroad always give his address as Paris because he is proud of the city. The same is true of the German in regard to his Berlin, his Frankfort, and his Hamburg. The same is also true of the Austrian in regard to his Vienna, of the Italian in regard to his Rome, the Russian in regard to his St. Petersburg and his Moscow, of the Scotchman especially in regard to his Edinburgh and his Glasgow, and the Irishman in regard to his Dublin, his Cork, and his Belfast. There are no world wide scandals which meet the citizen of any of these cities when he travels among strangers, while the New Yorker wherever he goes is perpetually put upon an explanation. We all of us take pride in this great town. There is nothing like it and never has been. The Lord placed it at the gateway of the continent; its opportunities for commerce are unrivaled; through the Mohawk Valley to the lakes it draws the wealth and products and trade of a hemisphere; within its borders and through its gateways it is concentrating here the finance of the world, and New York is to dominate those movements, industrial and financial, which make or mar the happiness of millions upon millions of people. It is attracting the men and the women of brains, of energy, of ability with their pen and with their tongues, the men and the women who are and who are to be the teachers of the present and future generations for higher and better standards, for a higher and better life.

Under such a government as this great city is entitled to it would, when it reaches, which it will, the front rank among cities in population, be the beaconlight for humanity everywhere for all that stands for good government and all the blessings that flow from a proper appreciation of liberty and its opportunities.

STATE CONVENTION AT SARATOGA

SPEECH NOMINATING HONORABLE JOHN F. O'BRIEN FOR SECRETARY OF STATE, AT THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION AT SARATOGA, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 24, 1902.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The policies and principles upon which the campaign this year is to be conducted both in the nation and in the State are those of business. The Republican Party in its past has gone into history as pre-eminently the party of liberty, the party which would stake everything upon vital moral questions, the party of honesty, insisting in the payment of the national debt and the reform of the national currency and placing upon the statute books the law which made gold the standard of value. Now, however, our task is the election of the members of the next Congress and the message which the people give to the members of the national legislature when they meet to continue our present prosperity and to prevent legislation which will disturb, disorganize or paralyze the present industrial and financial condition of the country. Our task in the State is to uphold the hands of Governor Odell in the pre-eminently successful business policy which has characterized his administration and to give him such associates from a business standpoint as will prove of special help for the great work still before our State administration.

The Republican Party meets in State conventions in the several States this year under most happy auspices. We, the Republicans of the State of New York, gather in annual conference with especial confidence. Parties continue in power by their record in the past, their fulfilment in the present and the promise which these give for the future. Parties whose administration is a failure in domestic affairs, are often continued in power during a great war, because the people believe there should be no change until victory is assured or peace established. The United States, happily, is in a position of profound peace with all the world. The administration of the affairs of Government, both in the nation and in our State, must be judged by

the usual and ordinary tests upon which administrations succeed each other or are hurled from power.

It is because of these tests that we are confident. Our country was never so prosperous, our State never in such commanding financial position. Our commercial, financial and industrial position in the country, when stated in cold figures is the romance of mathematics. Our position in the State is the solution, for the first time in its history, of the problem of State taxes so as to relieve those least able to bear them or their burdens. The blackboard in all our experiences of boyhood in the school was our daily terror. The chalk and the switch were closely associated. But to-day we add the sum and then hang the blackboard in every school house and in every home in the land. We fought a war with Spain which cost us five hundred millions of dollars. We were compelled to impose heavy war taxes for the purpose of carrying on the struggle. We inherited from the last Democratic administration an increase of the national debt of \$290,000,000. But such has been the prosperity of the country under the impulse of the restoration by the Dingley bill of the principles of the protection of American industries and of the establishment of the gold standard of value, that in four years we have paid the Democratic deficiency of \$290,000,000, we have paid the war debt and expenses of \$500,000,000, and we enter upon the second year of Roosevelt's administration with the lowest interest charge on our national debt since the Civil War. Again the blackboard, again the romance of figures. The balance of trade in favor of any country, is the measure of its command of the markets of the world, of its ability to sell in competition with world rivals in other lands, and of the money which flows into it in excess of expenditures, for the enrichment and employment of the farmer, the manufacturer and the wage earner. From the foundation of the Government down to the inauguration of President McKinley in 1897, the total balance of trade in our favor was in round numbers three hundred millions of dollars. This covered a hundred years. But in the five years from the inauguration of President McKinley to the anniversary of his death, and one year of Roosevelt, the balance of trade in favor of the United States is, in round numbers, three thousand millions of dollars.

The fundamental difference between the Democratic and the

Republican Parties is that the Republicans perform, the Democrats promise. The Republicans furnish facts, the Democrats theories. The Republicans say, "Let us continue the principles and policies whose demonstrated results have given unexampled prosperity to the country, unequaled buoyancy to every branch of business, have developed, as never so rapidly before, our natural resources, and have given employment and wages to our people beyond any previous experience." The Democrats say, "Let us experiment."

The science of government is most difficult and exact. With some organizations its mastery is an inherited capacity, improved by trial and experience, while others again never learn its intricacies nor solve its problems. Experimenting does very well when the experimenter is the only one to be blown up in case of an accident or a mistake, but experiments in government with us involve the welfare of eighty millions of people. A national debt is a financial barometer. It may increase from causes or cataclysms which no party can control, but it decreases only by the wisest statesmanship. Our debt, which ran up during the Civil War from practically nothing to three thousand millions of dollars, was the cost of the preservation of the Union. It was the rescue of the greatest heritage for humanity, of civil and religious liberty since the creation of the world, and compared with its blessings, the price was insignificant. But when the sun at Appomattox shone upon a torn and bleeding land to which the combatants were returning as brothers for its restoration, the responsibility for meeting that debt, for its honest payment, for raising the revenue for the annual interest and for making the burdens so light that a devastated country could recuperate, was the task for statesmen. It was the problem of policies.

Then as now, the two parties presented their solutions of the national difficulties. On the one side stood free trade, fiat money, irredeemable currency, and phantasies of finance; on the other hand a tariff for the protection of American industries and the resumption of specie payments. The Republican policy won, the Republican Party continued in power from the close of the War in 1865 until March 4, 1893. In that time we had reduced the national debt from nearly three thousand millions to five hundred millions—I am dealing in round numbers only—and the national interest charge from one hundred fifty millions to

twenty-three millions. That load had been lifted by succeeding Republican administrations from the shoulders of the farmer, the merchant, the professional man, the artisan, the laborer and the house owner. Such burdens have always been lifted in other countries by a grinding taxation applied to every fibre of the body politic. But accompanying the lifting of the load of taxes was the uplifting of our people, as no people have ever before been raised to the heights of industrial, financial and commercial prosperity. Cheapened products, because of the volume of production, and at the same time the advancement of wages with a rapidity and on a scale unknown to any community in the world.

But we are a speculative people, in a sense we are gamblers. Dealing in futures is a national peculiarity—we are in Saratoga. The people said, as the children of Israel said, in the Old Testament, "Let us try other gods. Let us try Baal." We all know the result. National debt paying stopped. Borrowing money by the issue of bonds and the increase of debt, which had been out of fashion since 1865, became again a governmental characteristic and the depreciation of national credit, the increase of our national debit and annual interest charges, came as a surprise to our past experience and a mortification to our pride. It did not help the situation that the experimenters as well as the victims were equally sufferers in the closing of mills and factories and mines, equally the sufferers in the paralysis of purchasing power, which on the one hand ruined the producer and on the other hand left the consumer helpless. A perfectly healthy nation with every organ normal and vigorous, had been strapped upon the table by the Democratic doctor, upon the theory that there must be something the matter with him and that the trouble was financial and industrial appendicitis. But the operation revealed that the appendix was all right. The Republican physician so builds up the body that the knife is never necessary. The Democratic surgeon says, "Let's cut off something, and while there is good health now, there will be perfect health after the elimination." The recollection of soup houses and of men, honestly seeking work, forced to tramp and of paralyzed industries is too recent for us to so soon enter upon another experiment.

But our Democratic friends now say, "Yes, there is prosperity, there is a wonderful commercial and industrial situation in the country, there is an employment of labor and capital such as

never existed before, there is a home market and a foreign market such as we never had, there is an internal commerce greater than the foreign commerce of all nations on all the seas, but while all this is true, it has led to gigantic evils and the greatest of these are the combinations of corporations and the consolidation of industries which are known under the name of trusts." These trusts, they say, are ruining the country, and this prosperity is fallacious. Let us try one more experiment, and that is blow up the trusts. Well, people naturally say, by what method? In 1893 there were 4,500,000 people, wage earners in the United States. Within the past four years this number has increased a million and a half, to 6,000,000. The Democratic managers, and we must take them by their campaign text book, prepared by their wisest men and promulgated by their congressional committee, say there are several hundred of these combinations which must be destroyed.

New York State in its railways presents an object lesson which is a complete answer and example. When I entered the railway service, thirty-six years ago, the most acute question in the State of New York was the conduct and regulation of railroads. Bills and legislation affecting the railways occupied two-thirds of the time of the Legislatures. I became confident that on the one hand it was the highest public policy and on the other hand the greatest safety for the railways themselves to have the State assume a large measure of responsibility for the corporations which it had created. I think, with only one or two exceptions, the whole railway management and investment of the United States was against it. I think I may in a large measure claim the creation of the Railway Commission, after having persuaded my associates of the wisdom of the law. For twenty years that commission has been performing its work. There have been no scandals connected with it. Its membership have been men of intelligence and integrity. It has had the courage, the fearlessness and the ability to act judicially, imposing its unwelcome decisions on the railway on one hand, or refusing unjust demands on the other. The result has been that the abuses—and there have been many in railroad management—were eliminated. The result has been that the railway has been taken out of politics and the management of the railroads is now a business the same as any other kind of business of the State.

The railway man stands among his fellow citizens in any other employment, to be judged not by his business, but by himself.

The elimination of the abuses has been expensive to the railways, but at the same time it has been a blessing to them, because abuses, if continued, will in the end be destructive of any business. Every citizen knows that for the expense of a two-cent stamp on a letter, without the necessity of employing a lawyer, a body of officers which represents him as one of the people will at once take up and investigate his claim or his charge and make a just decision. The Railway Commission has compelled the publicity of railway accounts and of railway operations by which both the stockholders and the public know what the managers are doing. Combinations are the natural evolution and law of trade of our time. Governor Altgeld, enemy of corporations as he was, recognized them in the first speech he ever made. There is no escape from them. They are going on all over the world. They are the inevitable results of steam, electricity and invention. Quick and cheap transportation has placed distant parts of our country and of all the countries of the world on the level. The cable, the telegraph and the telephone bring all markets in instantaneous communication. The result has been a tremendous stimulus of both production and competition. It has been found that the volume of production can give a chance in competition by reducing the cost. It has been found in our own country that by these processes the cost of production can be reduced and wages at the same time advanced without impairing returns to capital. All this revolution in industries has come about in the last quarter of a century. It began with the railroads.

When I first entered the railway service there was war between the Hudson River and the New York Central Railways. They refused to connect at Albany. Freight had to be transferred across the river and passengers reticketed. The delay threatened the prosperity of the State. Twenty years earlier there were four changes between Albany and Buffalo and as many more between Buffalo and Chicago. The rate per ton per mile was a cent and a half and now it is two-thirds of a cent for the same. The old rate, if in existence to-day, would destroy the internal commerce of our country and wipe out its agricultural and manufacturing prosperity. Then a passenger with

many changes of tickets and of trains went to Chicago from New York in from thirty-six to fifty hours. Now he does it in twenty hours at one-third the price. The veriest madman in the world would not dissolve these continuous lines from New York to Chicago into their original elements. It would be getting back from engine No. 999, which hauls the Empire State Express, to the Mohawk stage coach.

These trusts or combinations or whatever you may call them have gone on quite as rapidly in the older countries of Europe as in America. They have gone on in free trade England and in high protective tariff Germany. Individual knowledge and genius for affairs under our institutions and the inspiration and opportunity of American liberty will forge ahead. In forging ahead, however, such a constructive business genius carries with him a multitude who enjoy what they never would if he had not succeeded.

Suppose that the Democratic managers should dissolve the steel corporation, as they say they would, into its original units. Paralysis occasioned by dissolution and reconstruction would throw 160,000 men—and with their families they number a million more—out of employment or income for a year. It would throw twice or three times that number out in associated industries depending upon the production of the steel corporation. When the original units were again restored it would be found that the industrial procession had marched past that condition and they would be unable to compete as in the old days. The experiment is destruction. Destruction is not statesmanship. The man whose torch fired the Ephesian temple, whose architecture was the wonder of the world, held no place in the gratitude of his generation among the architects who had designed, or the builders who had constructed, or the artisans who had worked on this magnificent temple. Every use in the world, even the most beneficial, can have an abuse. Where the corporation is created by the State, it is for the State to prevent abuse by its own creatures. There is no lack of power. Sir Edmund Barton, the premier of Australia, when here a few weeks ago, expressed his surprise that there should be this fear of conspiracies, of combination, of violations of public policies, of monopoly, because he said that in Australia, without legislation, they had taken care of all that by the common law which

will reach every monopoly. Common law exists in every American State of the United States with the exception, possibly, of Louisiana and I think one or two more. The State of New York has gone beyond any other State in the enactment of anti-trust laws and they are amply sufficient to accomplish the prevention of the abuses possible by any combination or corporation. The decision of the Supreme Court has gone so far that every lawyer knows that the court substantially holds that under the interstate commerce provision under the Constitution, any corporation which engages in interstate commerce can be subject to federal legislation and control. No Democratic proposition has ever been made to thus utilize the Constitution to meet these difficulties. But a Republican statesman, a Republican Congress and a Republican President made the forward step in the Sherman Anti-trust Act.

A Republican President, McKinley, set its machinery in motion against the voluntary associations of railway officials and procured a most drastic decision of the United States Court. Roosevelt, with characteristic courage and characteristic frankness and firmness in his belief that it is the duty of the executive, not to make laws, but to enforce them, has set the machinery at work against the most powerful combination ever formed in the country, for the purpose of discovering if there is any violation of the law. The prevention of such abuses as they may exist from time to time or as they may be brought about by greed or avarice or inattention or what not, is largely dependent upon the courage of the executive, the honesty of the prosecuting officers and the ability of our courts. Nevertheless existing laws might be improved in the direction of publicity and supervision. Publicity would only help an honest business carried on by a great corporation and supervision of those great creatures of the State is the essential duty of the Government.

The free traders are adding much to present sentimental hysterics about so-called trusts, to induce the Democratic Party to declare for free trade as the method of suppressing those great corporations. I do not believe that free trade would suppress or cripple to any extent the most formidable of these great combinations. The Standard Oil has no protection and it is one of the greatest and most successful of them all. The Steel Trust, which is the greatest, has protection, but a repeal of the protec-

tive tariff would not destroy the trust. It would, however, destroy all its competitors. It would bring on a life and death struggle between this gigantic corporation and those of England and Germany, in which every small iron and steel and coke and coal concern of the country would be wiped out of existence, and the steel corporation would be left sole master of the field.

It is the policy of the protection of American industries which has given to the United States its rank among industrial nations. It is the policy of the protection of American industries which has enabled our people to manufacture every necessity and most of the luxuries of life. It is the principle of the protection of American industries which has given to the Americans the command of American markets. It is the principle of the protection of American industries which has perfected our machinery, stimulated invention, and given opportunity for the increased skill of our mechanics and enabled us to compete in the markets of the world. It is the policy of the protection of American industries which has kept our industrial situation in unexampled conditions of prosperity and of employment and our wage earners at a point of earnings infinitely higher than in the Old World and higher than ever before at home. It is the principle of the protection of American industries which has prevented the invasion of our markets, of our mines, and of our mills by pauper labor. To strike down the protective tariff because of the alleged charge that it shelters and foments trusts, is to destroy our minor industries, to eliminate competition, to take away from the farmer his home market and place us at the mercy of foreign competition until conditions conform to those which exist in Europe.

The State of New York is a business corporation. Questions of national policy, of foreign relations, of currency, tariff and reciprocity are not its functions. Its government is the management of its canals, its charitable institutions, its public works and its finances. It requires about \$21,000,000 a year to meet the necessary expenditures of the commonwealth. From the organization of the State down to within twenty years ago, these State expenditures were met by direct taxation upon the real and personal property of the people. As the expenses of the State Government increased with the growth of the population and the public needs, this State tax became a serious burden. Repub-

lican governors and legislators, after a careful examination of the question, suggested relief through indirect taxation upon corporations and franchises. The beneficial results of this policy have been felt more than a decade. Two years ago we elected for our governor, Benjamin B. Odell, Jr. He had been trained in public affairs, he was familiar with the needs of the State and he had been a successful business man. The academic stage has long discussed the question of the scholar in politics. The usefulness from a practicable standpoint of the scholar in politics has always been and is yet a question of debate. But it has been a question of greater debate whether the business man in politics could be a success. It has been supposed that the absorption of his mind in the pursuits which he had decided for a career would narrow his grasp of the subjects which would necessarily come before him in an executive position in the state or nation.

But experience has shown that our best legislators and our best administrators are men who have shown distinguished ability in business. Ours is a business country. It has been built up on business principles and its men of usefulness and suggestiveness come mainly from the business ranks. Governor Odell at once gave his attention to this critical question of State taxation. He set for himself the task of creating what had always been regarded as an impossibility, the State of New York without any State tax upon the people. A careful student of resources of the commonwealth, he suggested the measures which became laws during his administration by which this feat was accomplished. For the first time in our history, except for the small sum which the Constitution calls for, there is no tax on real or personal property levied in the State of New York. It will not do to say that this is a shifting of the burden and that the burden is the same. It is a shifting of the burden, it is true, but it is shifted where it can be more easily borne. The heir, before he receives his inheritance can afford to pay a State tax. The corporation about to be organized with a view of using the privileges granted by the State for the prosecution of its purposes, can afford to pay a tax. The corporations which have great privileges from the Government and through them are earning large sums of money for their investors can afford to contribute a portion to the power which has created and protects them. There

is no hardship, no burden in any of these methods of securing the means of carrying on the Government of the State.

But direct taxation upon real and personal property affects everybody. It pinches the farmer, the house owner, the merchant and the wage earner. The relief of the State from State taxation can be appreciably felt each year by every farmer in our commonwealth, by the owner of every home, by the people who rent houses or apartments, because the tax is always added on to the rent and to all the necessaries of life, because the dealer and the merchant must necessarily put his increased tax upon the price of the product which he sells. The Republican Party confidently says to the people of our State—we have given you a manager of your affairs who has accomplished what no other of your governors has ever done before. His skill and business ability are felt in every transaction of your life.

REPUBLICAN RATIFICATION MEETING

SPEECH AT THE REPUBLICAN RATIFICATION MEETING AT CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 2, 1902.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: As one of your delegates from the County of New York to the State Convention, it seems proper that a record should be made to you of its results. In our convention there were no contests as to memberships, but the Democratic Convention admitted the bankers and Wall Street, and fired out Devery, the people's choice in the Ninth. Both parties have now issued from the same city and the same hall their programme of candidates and their platform of principles. We are reminded that conditions remain substantially unchanged. The Democratic platform is full of brilliant promises; the Republican, of brilliant performances. There has been much ridicule of the time-honored expression of the campaign orator that he points with pride. It seems that he and every member of his party points with pride to the record of the organization in its administration when in power, and in the rule of its statesmen. The Republicans can still point with pride to an unexampled record of achievement and of measures which have wonderfully benefited the country, while the Democracy has lost its index finger. It has become paralyzed by disuse. New York has been fortunate with her governors of both parties. We have no record of an unworthy occupant of the gubernatorial chair. But the executive is always handicapped or helped by his principles and his surroundings. He cannot escape from the one without deserting his party; he cannot avoid the other without quarreling with the party leaders.

Mr. Coler is an estimable gentleman, but he has had no familiarity with our State or our Federal affairs. New York State is a great business corporation. The manager of this corporation must look after the working of its canals, its public works, its public institutions of every kind, and the administration of its finances. It is a duty which requires both ability and experience. On that score of ability and experience, we must necessarily com-

pare Mr. Coler with Governor Odell. If we grant to Mr. Coler the largest measure of ability, integrity and earnestness, we still, in order to make him Governor, must dispense with one of the ablest and most successful managers of our State affairs we ever had. In the management of the business of the commonwealth of New York by Governor Odell, the whole people have benefited, whether they were Republicans or Democrats, or Populists, or Socialists. One problem has been before every governor of our State since its organization, and that has been the burden of taxation. While very few people reflect upon this serious question, and many believe that taxes reach only people of property, they affect everyone. This tax upon real estate diminishes the income of the householder. It is added to the rent of the tenant by the landlord. It is added by the storekeeper on the goods or food which he sells. The tax on real estate is not only taken from the income of the rich, but from the wages of the workingman. The Republican Party has devised a scheme by which this tax can be lifted as far as possible from real estate and placed upon corporations created by the State franchises and licenses—all of which can and ought to pay.

Two years ago we elected a Governor who has one of the best business heads in the country. He at once applied his trained and skilled ability as a business man to this great problem of the relief of the people from the burden of the State taxation, and at the same time maintaining the efficiency of the State administration. The results of this tried and experienced business management under Governor Odell have been marvelous. The charitable work which formerly fell upon the counties had been imposed upon the State. This has enormously increased the State tax while it has relieved local taxation. In a great commonwealth like ours, the expenses of the State government necessarily increase from year to year. It requires stern resolution to keep them down. All governors have applied the knife and blue pencil, but none more sternly and heroically than Governor Odell. The State expenses have been increased largely because of the assumption of this charitable work, of good roads, and by increased facilities for popular education, some \$5,000,000 since Governor Flower, the last Democratic governor. Notwithstanding this increase, Governor Odell has succeeded in so distributing the burden of taxation upon organizing and existing corporations,

and upon liquor traffic, that the burden of State taxation, which rested so heavily upon the farmer and the householder, for the first time in the history of the State no longer exists. At the same time our public works and State institutions and every bureau of administration were never more ably nor wisely administered. The problem solved by the Governor was one of those miracles of finance which can only be accomplished with the greatest ability and by the largest experience. To perfect this system of taxation, which no one feels, requires at least two years more. The question before the people of the State is, whether they will leave it in the hands of their officer who has done so well, or experiment with an untried executive. We are about to enter upon large expenditures for the canals and for public works. That burden must also be so adjusted that while the work is well done, it will not weigh upon our people, but will be borne by indirect taxation. If we are wise, we will leave the continuance and perfection of this policy in the masterful hands of its creator. No one having deposits in the savings bank or who is interested in any business whatever, whether railroads, or banking, or insurance, or manufacturing, or farming, would turn out the tried, proved, and successful and eminently satisfactory manager to try an experiment. The Republican Convention at Saratoga not only thus gave the opportunity to the people of the State to re-elect Governor Odell, but they placed upon the ticket with him for Lieutenant-governor Senator Higgins. Senator Higgins has been chairman of the Finance Committee of the Senate during all the period of this successful legislation for the transfer of the burden of taxation from those who cannot well bear it to those who can well stand it, and, therefore, is a worthy assistant for our Governor.

The rest of the ticket are all gentlemen of experience in public affairs, tried in the service of the State and eminently worthy of the places for which they have been nominated.

The time has arrived when the Republican Party must give an account of its stewardship, both in the United States and in the State of New York. For five years it has controlled the Government of the United States in the executive and legislative branches. For two years Governor Odell, who has been renominated, has held the office of the Chief Executive of the Empire State. No party in the history of free government ever went

more confidently before the people on the results of its past and present measures than does the Republican Party. It has fulfilled its promises; it has met all the obligations which it undertook in its platforms, and the results have been beyond anything ever expected or hoped for by the most ardent believer in our principles. The party's five years have made history in more varied fields and in greater rapidity than occurs once in a century. The victories of the soldiers and the sailors of the United States have made new geographies for the school room, new maps for Cabinets and diplomats, and new adjustments of the balance of power among the great powers of the world. The closing of three hundred years' rule of one of the oldest empires in both the Eastern and Western Hemispheres, in a campaign of a hundred days, was the most dramatic incident of our period upon the stage of the world. The future historian, who writes with the word-painting eloquence of a Macaulay, will draw in broad lines and vivid rhetoric the sudden rise of the United States into a military, naval, diplomatic, and industrial position of the first rank among nations. Other countries have become quickly prominent by the progress of their arms, the achievements of their navy, the skill of their diplomats, the genius of their authors and educators, or the perfection of their workmanship in the products of industry. But it was a feature in only one line of activity. From the inauguration of McKinley in March, 1897, to the close of the first year of Roosevelt, which terminated last month, there has been no field of endeavor in which a nation can become prosperous at home and abroad in which the United States has not been triumphant. The victories of our Army in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines were not accidents; the splendid triumphs of our Navy at Manila and Santiago under Dewey, and Sampson, and Schley, were not accidents; the reversal of the financial position of our country from a debtor to a creditor nation was not an accident; the development of our industries in two years from paralysis and stagnation to the highest point of production, efficiency, employment and wages in our history was not an accident; the invasion of the markets of the East and of the Old World, in the various centers of their activity in the same lines of work, was not an accident; the freeing of Cuba and making her a nation, the preparing of Porto Rico for self-government, and the restoration of peace and promotion of education in the Philip-

pinés are not accidents. They are the results of consistent, persistent, and courageous Republican policies and principles. They are the resistless genius of a free people relieved from the thralldom of false finance and economic theories, and solving their problems upon right lines, led by such men of supreme and commanding executive ability as William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt.

While this unequaled and unexampled progress has been unchecked, what has been the policy, what the effort to accelerate it, of the party of negation? The only affirmative act of Democratic statesmen in the events which have placed before us the most critical problems of our generation was the ratification by their votes of the treaty with Spain which left upon our hands Porto Rico and the Philippines. The one affirmative act for the last forty years in our industrial history of the Democratic Party was the repeal of the McKinley law, and the enactment of the Wilson Tariff, which overthrew protection in the interest of a tariff for revenue only. The Wilson Tariff led to the most disastrous and painful of financial and industrial panics of modern times in any country.

The ratification of the treaty with Spain was wise statesmanship; but it carried with it the duties and obligations of constructive administration. It made necessary the pacification of Cuba and a policy for a government suited to the different conditions of Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The national honor was involved in the possession and government of these new acquisitions. The national conscience was alive to our duties to these people whom we had rescued from unexampled tyranny, which has reduced them to conditions prevailing nowhere else in civilized communities. The world was gazing upon us, skeptical of our honesty and our ability. By this non-partisan vote, which ratified the treaty with Spain, the obligations of both parties were the same in respect to these problems. It was an opportunity rarely offered to the opposition to make a brilliant record of constructive statesmanship. But no party either in power or in opposition ever exhibited such utter inability to meet sudden crises and courageously grasp great opportunities. Objection and criticism may be useful as brakes upon progress, but they never by themselves build the road, or span the stream, or construct the workshops, or turn out the cars and locomotives, or dare to run

the train. Not a single suggestion in a solitary measure in the long discussion and laborious work for the adjustment of the Cuban situation, the relief of Porto Rico, the pacification and government of the Philippines, has come from the Democratic representatives in either House of Congress. Whether it be business and its competitive conditions, in critical cases at the bedside of the sick, when life hangs upon the decision of the doctor, or in the restoration of order and peace, and the inauguration of law and liberty and justice and government among alien peoples suddenly come under the sovereignty of a great nation, the easiest way for the man or the country who has the responsibility is to scuttle and run. But this is not American. It is not the spirit which fought the Revolution, which crossed the Alleghanies and the Rockies and reached the Pacific Coast, while settling and organizing prosperous States. It is not the spirit which at Appomattox fixed the future of our country for unity and liberty. It is not the spirit which animated statesmen of the Colonial period of the Continental Congress, the soldiers of the Revolution, the heroes of our War of 1812, and our war with Mexico. It is not the spirit which acquired Louisiana and Florida, and California and New Mexico, and Arizona, and gave us the mouth of the Mississippi. It is not the spirit which brought us industrially out of the panics of 1837, of 1857, of 1873, of 1884, and of 1894. It is not the spirit which neither dismayed nor discouraged, in 1897 opened the mills and the factories and the mines and out of unprecedented financial and industrial distress created equally unprecedented financial and industrial prosperity. The Republican Party felt that it had a work to do which, though difficult, could be accomplished. No work is worth anything unless it be difficult. The administration of Cuba for two years is a monument of wise policies, and their efficient execution, to turn a population long accustomed by civil strife to brigandage and lawlessness into the walks of peaceful industry, by wise sanitation to turn the plague spot of the Western Hemisphere into one of the healthiest of communities, to turn chronic revolutionists into law-abiding citizens and train them, in a short while, to self-government—these were the works of Republican measures and Republican government in Cuba. At every step our Democratic friends sounded alarms and predicted failure. In Porto Rico we had, in addition to the difficulty of handling

an over-crowded population, which had never known self-government or unbribed justice, a most distressful industrial condition. A catastrophe had fallen upon the island which had wiped out all its sources of labor and of income. Its sugar, coffee, and tobacco plantations, upon which its people had been depending, had been destroyed. Had this calamity occurred while Spain was still administering the affairs of the island, the world would have been called upon to contribute to the starving population. We prepared a scheme of government which we believed would give to the island credit and financial strength, and enable its administration to assist the planters and rehabilitate industries. It required months for this remedial measure to become a law. At every step it was assailed as unconstitutional, as ruinous policy and revolutionary. But finally, over all opposition and adverse criticism, our measures became laws. The result has been wonderful. The industries of the island are more prosperous than ever before. Its imports have been trebled; its exports quadrupled. School houses have been established everywhere and are sustained by the solvent finances of the country. Courts of justice have been created where justice is administered, and a legislative assembly in which the islanders govern themselves. This productive and populous island of the Caribbean Sea, two years ago a desolation, to-day a paradise, is an object lesson of wise administration and beneficent policy against which no comments or criticism can prevail.

We are in possession of the Philippine Islands by a title which Spain held undisputed for over three hundred years, and by conquest. Outside of an insignificant number of our citizens, compared with the great mass, no one in this country disputes our title, and it is admitted by every nation in the world. Possession thus acquired of distant provinces and alien people has usually been for exploitation for the benefit of the conqueror or purchaser, and the colonies have been administered, without regard to the rights of the natives, upon commercial principles. We have acknowledged from the start that our first responsibility was to the islanders themselves, that among the duties inherently belonging to the sovereignty we had assumed was the welfare of the people of these dependencies. Our first duty was to establish peace, law and order. Leaving out the tremendous differences, in principle, between the war in South Africa, and the acquisi-

tion of the two Republics, and the war in the Philippines, or the suppression of insurrection, a comparison can be drawn of expenditure and results. The war in South Africa, against a people numbering 300,000 men, women and children, was carried on for three years at a cost to Great Britain of 90,000 killed, wounded and invalided, with an army kept to the full efficiency of 270,000, and at a cost of \$1,500,000,000. The Philippine Islands have a population of 10,000,000. The American Army there has never exceeded 70,000. Our losses from all sources have not exceeded 7,000, and the total expenditures during the war have been \$300,000,000. Every vestige of insurrection in the Philippine Islands, except in the one Mohammedan settlement, which, all told, numbers about 15,000, has absolutely disappeared. The education and intelligence of the islands are wholly in favor of the American Government. The Commission, whose head is one of the most eminent administrators of our time, Governor Taft, a Republican, ably assisted by Governor Wright, an ex-Confederate and a Democrat, has been one of the most successful efforts of administration in any colony by any country. These capable and distinguished administrators advised Washington that the time had come when the military could be succeeded by the civil authority. The bills which passed Congress after six months of weary debate and factious opposition, were simply to accomplish that purpose on the one hand, and on the other to create a financial system for the up-building of the credit and development of the Philippine Islands. At every step of their progress these two bills were fought with a vigor and intensity and ability seldom seen in legislative discussions. They were made the basis of an attack on President McKinley for what he had done in the Philippines, an attack on President Roosevelt for what he is doing in the Philippines, an attack on Admiral Dewey for what he did in the Philippines, an attack, a vicious and brutal one, on the American Army for what they are doing in the Philippines. In all these six weary months of fiery eloquence from our Democratic friends, there is but one word of praise, and that is for Aguinaldo—Washington Aguinaldo—who admits the assassination of his chief lieutenant, because he feared that Luna would wrest from him his power, and who confessed in the diary, which came into the possession of our soldiers, that when the Americans were driven out and his gov-

ernment established, he and his friends would take a million of dollars out of the treasury and go to Europe and have a good time. Where before there was only spoliation and robbery of the people, there is to-day American justice, American respect for law and American security for vested rights. The Filipino knows that his home and his title to it are as secure as any home of any citizen in the State of New York, and as thoroughly protected. There are 70,000,000 acres of land in the Philippines of which only 5,000,000 are in private ownership, and the rest belong to the Government. Our bill provides, under the wise provisions which have made our homestead laws so popular, and have built our Western States, for the homesteading of these Government lands. We also arranged for the purchase from the Friars, who are so unpopular in the Philippines, of their lands on the most equitable terms, and the transferring of these properties to the people who had been upon them working for these bodies for generations. It is legislation exactly on the lines that the Irish patriots are demanding for Ireland. One thousand American school teachers, supplemented by four thousand Filipino teachers, who have been instructed by the Americans, are teaching 200,000 Filipino children. The schoolhouse has taken the place of the fort; it has taken the place of grim war. In these schools the children who are to be the future governors and moulders of public opinion among these people, are learning American law and liberty, American history and institutions, and are becoming as devoted to the flag and as instinct of its meaning as those anywhere who are enjoying the blessings for which it stands.

The American soldiers, everywhere, have become teachers of these people, and have carried everywhere—except at places where they have been attacked, ambuscaded, betrayed, assassinated and tortured—the lesson of their homes. It has been a dreary task to sit day after day, week after week in the United States Senate and hear the American Army assailed, attacked as butchers, as torturers, as a disgrace to the flag and uniform of that organization.

While the British Army, which returned from South Africa, has been hailed with the wildest acclaim and loaded with every possible honor, the American Army, fighting under the most disheartening circumstances of climate and adversaries in the Phi-

lippines, has been vilified at home as no army ever was before. It has been subject to an endless series of court martials, of which three hundred have grown out of these charges, and of which there have been only three convictions. There have been no orders to the army in the Philippine Islands which have equalled in severity those given by Lincoln and carried out by Grant and Sherman and Sheridan during the Civil War. There have been no burning of barnhouses and of villages and destruction of property like that in the Shenandoah Valley under the orders of Sheridan. "Cruel and hell," Sherman says, war always is, but it has been reserved for a German critic, sent to the Philippines by one of the German papers—an officer of distinction—to say that under provocations, such as few armies ever experienced, the American Army has shown a humanity and self-restraint which armies of no other nations would have done under similar circumstances. That there have been instances of water-cure and other methods of procuring information from Filipinos, caught red-handed in the act of ambuscading and assassination, has been proved, but they have been few and far between; and in measuring the heinousness of the crime, we must also, in justice, recall the provocations. In every instance the act followed upon the discovery that comrades, who had surrendered, who were prisoners, or who had been captured under the pretense that the parties coming to them were friends, had been tied to trees, had been burned for hours and hours, had been slowly ripped open—subject to every fiendish method of excruciating torture known to the North American Indian, and then, finally, cut to pieces and thrown into the swamps. When soldiers come upon comrades who have been thus treated, human nature asserts itself and overturns all the teaching of centuries of civilization. One of these instances, in my own knowledge, was the son of an Irish janitor of a building. He had the advantages of the public schools of New York. His Congressman nominated him for West Point. He graduated with honor. In the village, where his little company was stationed, the people pretended to be friends, but when most of the command was away, he was seized, tortured with every conceivable method of fiendishness, mutilated, and then killed. When his comrades returned, they endeavored to find the authors of this outrage. They took the means to do it, and thus did discover and then killed them. The

water torture was wrong, but on every principle of civilized warfare, they were right in burning the town and killing the assassins. The army in the Philippines is our Army; its members are our brothers, our sons, our relatives, our fellow-citizens. Under most trying circumstances, they have been maintaining the sovereignty of the United States, the honor of the flag, and the traditions of the Army. To them must be accorded the credit for the peace which now prevails in that great Eastern archipelago. Not the peace of death, for only a few of the vast population have been killed, but a peace which these islands have never known before; a peace which carries with it the home, the church, the schoolhouse, the law court, justice, liberty and opportunity. The peace which will develop, and education which will result in the end—and that end not far distant—in representative self-government through these dependencies.

One of the contentions made in the long debate which preceded and followed until the end, the legislation for the suppression, by the civil government, of the military in the Philippine Islands, was the constant charge that the Government had no authority for Porto Rico, for Cuba, or for the Philippines. The most wonderful instrument of government ever devised by man is the Constitution of the United States. Instead of being a hide-bound instrument, because it is in writing, it is the most elastic document ever penned. It has served from the time when we had but 3,000,000 people to now when we have a population of 80,000,000, and our country extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and by the annexation of the Philippines, thousands of miles from our coast. I have often wondered what would be the position of the United States to-day if the doctrines of the Democratic Party had been carried out rigidly from the formation of the Government. Jefferson doubted the power to purchase the Louisiana Territory. But the people compelled him to take from France that magnificent domain, out of which have been created fifteen States of our Union which are to celebrate in 1904 the beneficent legislation which made them part of the American Union. We never could have taken Florida from Spain. We never could have had the mouth of the Mississippi. We never could have had the Territories which we have acquired from Mexico. We never could have had our possessions on the Pacific coast. There was no specific authority for our interfering

with our forces in Cuba, no specific authority for our governing that island for two years until we could place it on its feet, and no specific authority for our taking Porto Rico, and none for our governing its people. There was no specific authority for our sending an army to Cuba or to China, and we did. There is no specific authority for the United States becoming a world power, as it is to-day, and we are one because the Constitution recognizes the inherent and expansive powers of sovereignty, which are necessary for the existence and growth of any government.

The Democratic campaign book makes the greatest issue of this canvass the question of the trusts. Its methods of dealing with the so-called trusts, or combinations, is to adopt measures to crush them. It gives you a list of about three hundred of the so-called trusts which employ ninety per cent. of the wage earners in the United States, outside of the farms and the railroads. In proposing to dissolve these corporations, it makes no suggestion or no provision for the cataclysm which would follow. With the means of communication which have become so marvelous in our time, both by rail and by water, and of intelligence by cable, by telegraph and telephone, all markets are inter-dependent. What would follow in the suspension of industries, in the paralysis of employment, and in the financial disasters from the overthrow of our present business methods, and the building up of new ones upon some other unknown scheme, the imagination cannot conceive. The trusts, the combinations and the corporations might be destroyed, but so would everybody else. This is a grave question, and not to be approached in a hysterical manner. Business has been in evolution all over the world ever since there has come into it the control of these vast powers of nature—steam and electricity. There have been predictions of dire distress at every step from the stage coach to the locomotive, from the canal boat to the steamship, from the forge to the trip-hammer, from the hand machine to the automatic one. In practical results, however, while there has been, from time to time, a temporary derangement of employment, and people have had to learn new trades, every advance in the utilization of electricity of steam, of communication and of speed has given larger employment and greater wages, has given expanding markets and greater purchasing power, has given increased production, but with it an equal demand, and so prevented paralyzing congestion.

When I entered the railway service, the Hudson River and the New York Central were antagonistic. Passengers and freight had to be unloaded at West Albany and rechecked and reticketed and reloaded at East Albany. The same was true at Buffalo, at Cleveland and at Detroit. To-day the passenger takes his seat at the Grand Central Depot and, without further bother or trouble from exchanges, lands in Chicago. The same is true in regard to conditions as to freight. Then it took three days to go to Chicago, and now one can go there in twenty hours at one-half the expense. The freight rate, because of those conditions and disconnected lines, was 1 1-2 cents per ton a mile. That rate, at this time, would be prohibitive for the vast interchange of commerce in our country. Prohibitive of the food products of the West coming to the East, of the manufactures of the East going into the interior. These railway combinations, from which so much harm was predicted and so many evils promised, have proved methods by which the country has been peopled and its resources developed. No one now would be insane enough to break up these railway lines into their original elements and go back to the old methods. They have led to a vastly greater increase of employment, and to a wage scale which is nearly three times greater than it was forty years ago.

The manufacturers of the United States now compete successfully in the markets of the Orient with their iron, their steel and their textile fabrics against the older countries of Europe. They have been selling rails to Russia against German competition, and locomotives against British competition. They have been selling products in all countries of Europe against home competition. They have been selling cloth in Great Britain against the looms of the mother country. This American invasion, as it is called, because of our better method and the greater skill of our mechanics and the greater perfection of our machinery, and the greater production, because of the enormous capacity which was made possible by combination, became so severe that we were known in Europe as "the American Terror." The cabinets of the Old World are seriously considering what measures they can frame to keep out the products of our mills, and our mines. Now they have taken to the study of American methods. The best experts in every line of production are sent over here from Germany, from Great Britain, from

France, Austria, and Italy, and even from Russia. They are making elaborate reports as to our methods and how they can be adopted over there, in order to keep their trade. The last of these reports, made by one of the ablest experts in all Europe, Dr. Bell, within the last few days, says that the success of American manufacturers, the phenomenal growth of our production, the extraordinary perfection of our products and our ability to compete on equal terms everywhere, have been brought about by two things—protective tariff and trusts. Remember this is an Englishman and free-trader, a gentleman educated to believe that his country can hold the markets of the world forever by her traditional industrial policy, and yet, when he finds those markets slipping away, and he comes here to study the methods and policies of the great rival who is supplanting his countrymen, he carries back this startling discovery:

“England,” he says, “if you would compete with America, you must have a protective tariff, and you must have trusts.” He need not to have said to his countrymen they should have trusts, because every industry in Great Britain is now in a trust. Combinations are going on there now every day which enlarge competition and concentrate the management of all their industries. This is not brought about over there, as is charged here, by the protective tariff, but by tendencies which are at work in every country and which nothing can prevent. No one can doubt who will study the question that industries, production, employment and wages have been enormously increased by these combinations of capital and the corporations. But while this is true, it is equally true that great corporations created by the State should be subject to governmental supervision and regulation. The greatest enemies of these great industrial combinations are the managers who oppose wise legislation which will accomplish this end. It is within the period of my own active management of the railways, when the whole railway sentiment of the country, investment, management and employment was against governmental supervision. Securing the approval of my associates for the legislation, I think I can honestly claim to be the author of the Railroad Commissioners of our State. The results have been most beneficent. There did exist railway abuses, but these abuses have disappeared. The fact that any citizen or any employee can have his complaint heard without cost and at an expense of a

2-cent stamp to carry his petition has done away with grievances on the one side and causes for complaint on the other. To-day the railway is out of politics in the State of New York. It is out of the Legislature. It is reduced to the point where it ought to be of a legitimate business carried on under charters of the State and subject to the control and supervision of the State. Premier Barton of Australia, who recently visited us, expressed amazement at our hysterics at the possible curbs of these great combinations, when there was apparently no law to control them. He gave an interesting exhibition of how the same conditions existed, the same combinations were controlled, and their hurtful possibilities prevented in the country of which he is Prime Minister and the actual ruler. It was done by the Common Law. To him as administrator, the common law application to these cases had prevented all these complaints in Australia. We have the common law in every State of our country, with the exception of Louisiana and a few others.

One of the propositions of Republican administration is a ministry of commerce. In that ministry there can be a bureau like the Inter-State Commerce Commission, with power sufficient for investigation and recommendation to Congress and to the State Legislatures, and publicity to bring every corporation and combination in the country under the supervision of the Government and the power of public opinion. I believe that such a bureau should have the power to examine into labor struggles, not as compulsory arbitrators, because that the labor unions do not want, and the country is not ready for, but if at once, when a labor trouble arose, an investigation could be made which would be speedy and complete, of the employer on one side and of his case and the employees on the other side and their case, public opinion would speedily settle the matter. All of these combinations or trusts or great corporations have an inter-State commerce business. It requires no amendment to the Constitution, in my judgment, to reach them. The Supreme Court of the United States, on questions of inter-State commerce, has already indicated what will be its decisions upon legislation regulating this inter-State commerce, and what it will declare to be the law when any one of the evils which are feared and which might happen comes before it for its decision, without stopping the inevitable march of the business of the country, without disrupting



the industrial conditions which prevail, without producing financial cataclysms which would be disastrous to all business and all employments. The evils of trusts, of corporations, of combinations are as adjustable, as controllable as is the intelligence of the Legislature, the courage of the executive, the integrity of the prosecuting official and the learning and ability of the courts. These combinations by the consolidation of firms began soon after the Civil War. They came prominently before the public in such a way as to challenge the attention of Congress during the administration of President Harrison. It was thought that some method should be devised to prevent monopoly and the various evils that come from the control of great articles of necessity by combination. The first act ever placed on the statute books on this subject was drawn by John Sherman, one of the most distinguished Republicans who ever lived; was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by Benjamin Harrison. For four years, from 1892 to 1896, the Democratic Party, most of the time, had possession of the Government. The trust question, which they are now making so much of an issue, was as acute then as it is to-day. All that has since happened was freely predicted in the press and in Congress. No Democrat proposed any remedy whatever. Mr. Bryan was there during most of the time and he had no remedy to suggest. The Republicans proposed a Constitutional amendment, which was defeated by a unanimous vote of the Democratic Party, as an infringement of State rights. The Republicans again came into power and for the first time the provisions of the Sherman Law were made vigorous by prosecutions against the various associations which had been formed by the railway companies. Those associations were in no sense combinations nor consolidations. They were advisory organizations not to raise rates, but to give that stability to them by which favoritism could be abolished and everybody treated alike. But the Supreme Court of the United States held that they cannot within the provisions of the Sherman Trust Law, and they were dissolved. This prosecution which proceeded against the association covering all the railways in the United States, the East and the West, and the North and the South, was inaugurated by a Republican President, and prosecuted by a Republican Attorney-general. There has been no complaint, whether proceeding from individual citizens or commercial bodies or the State Leg-

islatures, which has reached President Roosevelt which has not immediately been placed in the hands of the Attorney-general for investigation and action. In every case, no matter how strong the influences behind the new corporation, no matter how much his own friends were attacked by his action, the President, in his resolute determination to enforce the law as it exists, has prosecuted the combinations when advised by the Law Department. So up to this date, all the legislation and all the hostile action against combinations and trusts have been taken under Republican laws and on the initiative of Republican statesmen.

The only remedy which Democratic thought and expression gives for the evils which can come from these great combinations, is to repeal the protective tariff. The protective tariff has created our industries, has developed our resources, has given employment to our labor and generously advanced the scale of our wages. It may not be perfect; it may never have been perfect; but it has accomplished most miraculous results. It has made us independent as to the necessities of life and most of the luxuries. It has met all the requirements of revenue; at the same time it has been so wisely adjusted that America could command her own markets, the best markets of the world. It is the only instrumentality by which American wages could be kept upon the scale of American living and brought in competition with the pauper labor of Europe. To break down the barrier of protection is to break down at once the platform upon which the American artisan views with sympathy and with pity the conditions of his brethren in like employment among the older nations of the world. The tariff is not perfect; from time to time it must be adjusted to meet the conditions in special lines of trade; but whenever the tariff is amended that work must be done, not by its enemies, but by its friends. There is one charge which can be made against the tariff, and that is, not that it has fostered and protects trusts, but that it has stimulated production, and stimulated production means more employment and greater wages. Our country, however, cannot go on forever increasing its production beyond the limit of the home market without producing that congestion which is fatal to prosperity. We must expand our markets. First in the lines of this expansion is reciprocity with Cuba. We are under both moral and legal obligations to that young republic. We set her

free; we placed her upon her feet, but we bound her to us by restrictions upon her responsibility of action in the so-called Platt Amendment to our Constitution. Her market is the United States. Unfortunately her productions are only sugar and tobacco. Under the present condition of over-production of sugar, her principal product, in all the world, she cannot place her harvest upon shipboard and sell it in New York at the cost of production. There ought to have been in the last session of Congress, and there must be in the next, such a moderation of our tariff as will permit the Cuban planter to make a living by its production and by its sale in the United States. Coupled with it will be that true reciprocity by which prosperous Cuba will become a customer of the United States beyond any limit which has heretofore existed. There is nothing in the amount of sugar now produced upon the island to endanger the sugar industries in the United States if this concession is granted. Without this industry being successful in Cuba there is to be there a speedy return to the conditions from which we rescued her—to anarchy and brigandage and ruin. Now, there are but 1,600,000 people upon the island, but in ten years there will be 10,000,000. Her mineral resources would be developed and a variety of agriculture would supplement the two products upon which she now depends. Corresponding industries would spring up and corresponding wants. Cuba would become an outlet for our surplus production, and under wise reciprocity we would have practically control of this enormous increase in her markets for our manufactured products.

A year ago, by one of the most infamous crimes of the age, a great President came to his death. No executive has more fully and completely embodied in his opinions and in his acts the ideas and policies which have made our country what it is than William McKinley. In any other land the sudden death of so great a leader, organizer and ruler would have been followed by startling financial and industrial disasters. The wheels of progress would have been temporarily stopped. The clock of time would have paused in measuring the hours of national prosperity. But four years of preparation and practice in the wise policy of protection, supplemented during McKinley's administration by legislation which placed the country upon a gold standard and our system in harmony with the financial systems of the world, enabled the country to withstand the shock without a tremor in

its financial and industrial situation. The nation mourned, the people followed their beloved President to the grave, and then resumed, as an industrious, vigorous and healthy family always does, the duties of the hour. But it is our fortune and our great fortune, that this remarkable President was succeeded at this critical moment by a trained, able and youthful statesman who had the capacity, the experience, and the genius to meet the existing requirements of the station. Prosperity unchecked has progressed by leaps and bounds from McKinley through the administration of Roosevelt. Again figures become romance. A million more deposits in the savings banks of the country speaks of higher wages and savings possible without retrenchment in style of living. A million and a half more people employed speaks of opened avenues for employment for all who need or who care to work. Three thousand millions of dollars paid off in farm mortgages speaks more eloquently than words of the prosperity which has come permanently to that industry which is the foundation of all other industries. The balance of trade in our favor with foreign countries during these five years in round numbers amounts to three thousand millions, or six hundred millions a year, and states the story of the invasion of foreign markets by our products, of the triumph of our industrial energies, and of the firm basis of our credit and finances. It is an instructive figure often recited, but which cannot be repeated too often, that the balance of trade in our favor from the inauguration of George Washington down to the inauguration of William McKinley in 1897, was only \$383,000,000. Against that we place— notwithstanding a war with a European power, notwithstanding expenses of Government running into higher figures, and the liberal pensioning of soldiers and the greater number of these pensions than ever before—this tremendous increase in five years of an amount greater than the terrific debt which the country had at the close of the Civil War.

Senator Teller, in a recent speech, has said that he started as a Democrat; he became a Republican on the slavery issue because he was always in favor of the party that was the party of freedom. The abolition of slavery was a proposition in the interest of the people, and therefore he became a Republican. But he claims that the gold standard and protection of American industries are not principles which are favorable to the people, and,

therefore, he has become a Democrat again, because he believes that free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 is the people's policy, and will inure to their benefit. Free silver is 50 cents for a dollar honestly earned, and that is not for the interest of the people. Free trade from 1892 to 1896 put a million of working people upon the highway, seeking employment; created an army of tramps, and placed soup houses in every industrial center, and that is not for the benefit of the people; while the re-enactment of the policy of protection by the Dingley Law, in 1897, has created these conditions in which we live, and in which the people are enjoying this larger measure of good living, of happiness and of homes than ever before in the history of our country, or in any other great industrial community. The contention of the Republican Party in power is not as the critics and the cynics say, simply letting well enough alone, but it is letting the best alone and keeping the best in power.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY CONVENTION

SPEECH AT THE ASSEMBLY CONVENTION OF THE THIRD ASSEMBLY
DISTRICT OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY, AT CROTON DAM, N.Y.,
OCTOBER 7, 1902.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I have a pleasant duty to perform first the offering of a series of resolutions passed by the County Committee commemorative of the service rendered by Mr. James Hopkins as a member of that committee.

There is a history connected with this. The Republican Party was formed in 1856 and ran that year its first candidate for the Presidency, John C. Fremont. My personal recollections are of the formation of the County Committee, because I graduated from Yale in June of that year and cast my first vote—a Republican vote—the first Republican vote, or anything but a regular old Hard-shell Democratic vote, that had ever been cast by anybody in my family. None of them had ever cast anything but a Democratic vote up to that time, but there are none of them who vote anything but the Republican ticket now.

Now, in regard to the formation of the County Committee: there was none formed in '56, for the simple reason that the party was not sufficiently organized; but in 1858 a County Committee was formed, and it has continued in existence ever since. The Republican County Committee of 1858 had for one of its members James Hopkins, who has been continuously a member of it from that day to this. As a private citizen, feeling the duties that devolve upon every American to do his best for his country, and through his party for his country, he has since 1858 served the party of this county unselfishly, patriotically, and ably. For the last ten years he has been treasurer of the County Committee, and now, when he has reached this period of years in life and of years in the service, having been a member of the body that has run the politics of old Westchester on the Republican side through defeat and through victory for forty-four years, I am very happy, on behalf of the County Committee of Westchester County, to present to him this testimonial so well earned and in

which there are joined with the County Committee of Westchester all the Republicans living and dead of our old county.

Now, gentlemen, in view of an incident like that, covering forty-four years of the history of the Republican Party of Westchester County, and all but two years of the existence of this organization as a party in the nation, one can not help being a little reminiscent. He speaks of Judge Robertson; I might mention Hezekiah D. Robertson; and General Husted—all of whom served the country in the State Legislature—and Judge Robertson also in Congress; and we have with us this afternoon an old member of the Legislature, chairman of this convention. Look at him; he doesn't look much different from what he did when he introduced me to a Peekskill audience in 1856. There is nothing like living in Westchester County and practicing Republican politics for longevity and health.

Now if I had the time, which I have not, I think I could prove without any body being able to dispute the historical fact that the County of Westchester, and especially the Third Assembly District, has had an influence not equaled by any other county or assembly district in national affairs. To my own knowledge, the gentlemen living and acting in the Third Assembly District of Westchester County have made three Presidents of the United States. As there have been only twenty-three, that leaves only twenty to distribute over all the other States.

I remember the first campaign in which I stumped the district, it was with our late friend Gen. James W. Husted. The General had graduated from Yale three years before I graduated from there. He was much more of a politician than I was, for I was a good deal of a "hay seed." We went through these towns over here making speeches, and the General said, "Chauncey, when you come to Bedford, and Pound Ridge, and Lewisboro, and North Salem, I want to speak too." So the first town we struck over this way was Pound Ridge. Pound Ridge in those days was the same, I suppose, as Pound Ridge is now. The General made a speech and in the course of that speech, which wasn't very well prepared, but he thought it was about the thing, he told a good many anecdotes, of the kind Mr. Watterson says are told at dinners in Newport. The next night we were to speak in Lewisboro, which is quite a different town. And in the afternoon we attended a meeting of the Presbyterian Church; and

they had tea at the farmer's house where the meeting was held, and then the neighbors all drove in in the evening, and the minister of the Presbyterian Church presided at the meeting, and the leading elder was the master of ceremonies; and he came up to me and said, "Chauncey, how long can you talk?" "Well," I said, "I have got to give a little time for my friend Mr. Husted." "Yes," said he, "Jimmie is all right; we are very fond of him over here; but some of the deacons and elders went down to Pound Ridge last night to hear you and Jimmie talk to see how it would do up in this neighborhood; and we wish you would occupy the whole time, because Jimmie's stories are all right for Pound Ridge but will not do in Lewisboro."

My friend, Wiley Travis, has spoken about keeping promises. General Husted was charged with making many. I remember a Tammany member of the Legislature who came up to the General one time when I was talking with him, and he said, "Look here, Jim, you know I am a Democrat, but I can talk around the halls and lobbies and I think I can get these fellows to think you are a big man and help you that way, and I'd like you to remember me when it comes to the making of committees." "All right," Jimmie says; "All right; I'll look out for you." The General was elected Speaker. I met this Tammany man going up the hill one day looking pretty savage, and I says, "What is the matter?" He says, "I'm going up to lick the Speaker." "What is the matter with the Speaker?" I asked. "Well," he said, "I told him, when he asked me what I wanted, that I would like to go on Insurance and Railroads and Cities and the Judiciary; and where do you think I have landed? On Banks! and I never had a dollar in a bank in my life! But that isn't the worst of it, Banks never come to the Legislature."

It is a record of this good old district that when it finds a faithful man who will do it credit and the State honor, it keeps him in the Legislature. General Husted during the years that he was a member of the Assembly of this State made for himself a State and National reputation. He was the ablest presiding officer I have ever seen in either State Legislature or in Congress; and his influence upon the Legislature of the State was always for the best interests of the State. This district became known through General Husted, it became known through Judge Robertson, whose record was also magnificent. And in the young

men who are coming up, this young man who was born the year that I sat in the Legislature for the first time is worthily representing us; he is maintaining the credit and the honor of the old district, and his record has already been hinted at; he is doing those things which are beneficial for his own people and then for the State at large.

Many things have transpired since I was nominated here forty-one years ago. It is practically the history of the country, those forty-one years. Only think of it! The first year of Abraham Lincoln's administration; the beginning of the Civil War; only think of what has transpired since that; how the United States have been making history; and we, standing here as Republicans, looking back over that period since I stood on this platform forty-one years ago to-day, can look back over that intervening lapse of time with a pride such as no party and the citizens of no country under any form of government ever had the opportunity of doing before.

As we were driving over this morning, we passed by a school upon the hill, and looking out, as I always do, for I am riding over the country so frequently on political or business missions, I looked to see whether the flag was flying; and I discovered that the flag was flying at the top of the staff but unhappily it was flying with the stars down. I made up my mind that Yorktown had seceded from the Union. So I said at once, "Let's stop; Bill Montross, let's stop; we are never going to pass any place in this country where the flag is upside down without knowing the reason why." And then I went in to capture the school house; and I was met at the door by the most fascinating school teacher that I ever saw. And I said to her, "My dear Miss, excuse me"—she seemed to know who I was—"In my position in the service of the United States I have a right to inquire about that thing." "Well," she said, "I know it is all wrong; but when the dear old flag wouldn't go up on account of the halyards right side up, I said, 'Boys, let's pull it up wrong side; we will have it up anyhow.'" I said a few words to the children, and I will venture that there will be no more patriotic body in the world than the children that come from that school; and that the school will never be called together, if it takes all winter, unless the flag is right side up.

I see some familiar faces here. Here is James T. Sutton,

standing behind me. In 1856 I made my second political speech at that little red school house on the Crompond Road about a hundred feet from the one that is now there, in Yorktown. I made a speech and James T. Sutton organized that afternoon and carried out a Glee Club, and here he is—under the influence of Peekskill air and Republican politics just as vigorous as he ever was in his life—and I am a little more so.

In the years since the Republican Party was organized, in the years since the first Conventions met at this hotel, the Republican Party was responsible for the Civil War; it fought it successfully, and reunited the Union on a better basis than ever before. The Republican Party was responsible for the resumption of specie payment, responsible for the restoration of the national credit, responsible for the pacification of the Union and bringing back the seceded States so that they should work in harmony with slavery eliminated as they had never worked before. It has been responsible for the payment of the most gigantic debt that any country ever had, and it has paid off two thousand five hundred millions of it and reduced the interest from one hundred and fifty-three millions down to twenty millions a year. And it incurred in the war with Spain a debt of five hundred millions and had upon its hand two hundred and sixty-nine millions left by the increase of the debt by the administration of Grover Cleveland. By the prosperity which has come from Republican measures, the prosperity which has come from McKinley ideas, the prosperity which has come from a protective tariff, the prosperity which has come from the gold dollar, we have wiped out that five hundred millions of the war debt, wiped out the two hundred and sixty-nine millions of Democratic debt and have had the lowest debt and the lowest interest that the country ever had since its organization.

Now, what has the Democratic Party done all this time? Found fault, do I hear some one say? Well, you know to find fault is sometimes a good thing, because it points out what errors you may have committed. During these forty odd years the Democratic Party has done two things. In the first place, they repealed the McKinley Tariff Bill and inaugurated the Wilson Tariff Bill, which threw this country into the agonies of industrial stagnation greater than we have ever experienced during our whole history. And the next thing they did they ratified

the treaty with Spain, which gave us the Philippine Islands, gave us the doorway to the East for the surplus of our products; gave us the markets to carry out the enormous over-production which has come from our industries and from our mills; gave us the elements with which to keep alive this constant stimulus to the industries of our country; and now, when we are about to reap the fruit of them, they say, "Let's scuttle and run, and throw them all overboard!"

Our friends met the other day at Saratoga and there they declared that they are going to conduct this canvass on trusts or on trust, I don't know which. They have conducted every canvass on trust but one since 1860 and never got credit but once, and when they got credit they ruined the national credit.

Now trusts and corporations, we are in the midst of that. Nobody can stop them. They are not due to laws, they are not due to legislation. Even Governor Atgell, who was the enemy of trusts, who was in a sense a socialist and an anarchist, in the last speech he ever made said, "Trusts are inevitable, because they are the tendency of the age"; and his remedy was to have the Government do all the business of the country.

Now steam, and electricity, and invention have brought the whole world together, so that the markets of Africa, and of Asia, the markets of Europe and of America, are all known to each other every morning. That produces a condition where competition becomes so severe that every economy must be practiced or that nation goes out of business. This has led to nearly all English concerns going into Trusts. It has led to all German concerns going into what we call Trusts, really combinations to manufacture the same article; and the same thing has been going on in our own country. Now then, there is no doubt but that some of these Trusts may become hurtful. There is no doubt but some of them may become too strong, and therefore I say, and I have said it for years, that any corporation created by the State or by the Government should be kept under control. We have passed in our State enlightened laws on that subject; we have an Insurance Bureau that keeps its hand on the insurance companies; and that has taken the insurance companies out of politics. We have got a Railroad Commission that keeps its hands on the railroads. And I did my best to get that commission appointed, because I thought it was in the interests of the

people of the State as well as of the railroads that there should be a public body where, save at the expense of a two-cent stamp, every citizen could be heard; and have the whole State of New York behind him if the Corporation resisted what was right.

But we want to extend and supplement these two provisions, so that every corporation which engages in interstate commerce shall be compelled by the National Government to that publicity by which the electric light of information shall be shed into all the ramifications of its business, and the public and the stockholders, the shippers and the dealers, everybody, shall know what that Corporation is doing, and that when it violates its charter there shall be a power which can keep it within the limits of the law and punish those of its officers who violate the law.

The only effort to curb the Trusts—we are said to be a Trust Party—was by our own party. The Sherman Anti-trust Law passed in 1892 was devised by John Sherman, one of the greatest Republican statesmen who ever lived. It was passed by the Republican Congress and it was signed by Benjamin Harrison. Under that law McKinley started a prosecution against the Volunteer Association of Railroad Companies all over the country met for the purpose of consulting and acting together, and the decisions of the United States Courts dissolved all those associations. Roosevelt, after being advised that it should be tested by the Supreme Court, without regard to the tremendous opposition against it and him, has started a prosecution against the most powerful of these corporations. Only by Republican law, only by Republican Presidents, only by Republican United States attorneys are the anti-trust provisions enacted and the anti-trust provisions enforced.

Now, my friends, this question will be taken up affirmatively and practically by the Republican Congress just as far as it is needed. It has been taken up affirmatively and practically by Theodore Roosevelt in the speeches which he has been making all over the Union. Even now at this late day what do the Democrats propose to do to meet this thing? Why, repeal the tariff.

I met a Democratic friend of mine, one of the Bowery variety, and I said to him, "What are you going to fight on this fall?" He says, "Trusts." I said, "What is the matter with the Trusts?" He says, "They are ruining the country." I said, "What is a

'Trust? Has it anything to do with whiskey, anything to do with gambler's combines?" "Oh, no," he says, "those are for the public benefit."

Why, my friends, you and I have all of us been brought up on the Tariff; we all of us know what it did; we know what happened when the Democrats upset it; and we know what happened when we got it again. The memory of '94 to '97 is too recent to fool us again; and we are unwilling to believe that the policy of this Government, which has given us the command of our own markets, which has produced this magnificent internal commerce of our country on its canals and on its railroads and on its highways, which is greater than that of all the seas combined, which has enabled the surplus product of our mills and of our factories to be carried successfully abroad, is all wrong. I saw in yesterday's paper that we had gotten a contract in India amounting to two millions and a half of dollars for electrical appliances over Great Britain herself right in her own colonies. Our locomotives are traversing Russia, our electrical appliances are in every country in Europe, and the products of our mills are in Great Britain herself. So long as the protective tariff stimulates industries, so long as it is constantly creating new factories, new mills, opening new mines, it is, of course, giving employment at the highest wages in the world to the young men who are coming on. But unless we can have an outlet, those products will congest our country and roll back until mills will stop work, and factories will shut down, and mines will cease work, and we will again have financial distress, and the farmer will have no market for his products and he will be in the condition that he was in from '94 to '97 when the products of his farm, because of the loss of purchasing power, would not bring the cost of production. But with the Philippine Islands, we have got twenty millions of people who are being educated by Yankee school teachers and by the educated Filipino school teachers into American wants. We have got in Cuba a country which, with the legislation that will pass for reciprocity next winter, will in ten years have ten millions of people; and we have got Porto Rico and Hawaii; and from the Philippine Islands we stand at the doors of the Orient where four hundred millions of people in China are being educated every day since their war; and two hundred million more throughout the Orient are going to want what are manufactured by the

highest organized industrial countries of the world. And by Republican policies we have the territory to develop, and we have the highway opened, and we have the Pacific as an American lake, and our industries can go on and develop from generation to generation with the certainty of the American young man having forever the same opportunity that his father had before him.

My friends, we are about to enter upon a State canvass and I talk about these national matters because I love to talk of them among friends, and because they are always matters for discussion, the same as in the church religion is always a matter for discussion. So when politicians, as we all are, get together, it is a matter of discussion according to our faith what is best for our country and our countrymen. I never saw a State canvass where it opened with such brilliant promise as that which began when the Convention adjourned at Saratoga. We had no trouble in our Convention; everybody had his seat, and all credentials were received. While the bankers of Wall Street and all the Trust magnates who were gotten together by my friend Mr. Hill in order to give respectability once more to the Democratic Party, to give credit and campaign contributions, were admitted without question, when the man of the people—Devery—came forward, he was fired.

I said to a friend of Devery, "Devery will never get into that Convention." "Oh," he said, "he will; he was elected by the people." But I said, "They don't mind that." He says, "Why not?" "Why, because he has taken for his emblem a pump!"

New York State is a business corporation; we are all its stockholders; we are all assessed to support it, and we are all its beneficiaries if the Government is well run. There has been one thing which every Governor in my time has tried to do, and that is to lift from the counties and from the farms the burden of real estate taxation for the State taxes. Real estate taxation is the one which eats right straight into the income and the living of the man who owns his own home and works out; who rents from another man, or who gets his living out of the ground; and just to the extent that any policy or any statesmanship can lift the taxes off the real estate, just to that extent are the shackles which bind men and prevent their getting on broken in pieces. We have tried, as I say, ever since I can remember, to break those

shackles and to lift that burden; but for the first time in the history of our old Commonwealth it has been done. We have elected a business man who has applied business judgment and business principles to the administration of the affairs of our State; and the result is that Benjamin B. Odell goes before the people of this commonwealth to-day and says to them confidently: "Your State tax is a thing of the past, and every county, and every town, and every piece of property is relieved from it. The State tax is placed where it can be put upon the franchises out of which people expect to make money by the privileges which the State grants; upon corporations and other organizations, and upon the sale of liquor."

Now, my friends, I have talked too long. I am glad to see you, and I hope that when I come here forty-one years from now, that I will see you then.

MASS-MEETING IN BUFFALO

SPEECH AT THE REPUBLICAN MASS-MEETING, CONVENTION HALL,
BUFFALO, N.Y., OCTOBER 24, 1902.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: In every canvass, gubernatorial or presidential, since I became a voter, it has been my privilege to meet with the citizens of Buffalo—I feel at home in this great city on the Lakes; it is the best exhibition that I know of in the country of the growth of industrial enterprise, when those enterprises have for their foundation proper industrial legislation and proper industrial policies in the party in power. I look upon Buffalo as a Republican exhibit. And we label it and put it among the testimonials which go to show that Republican policies are best for all parties in the United States.

“That government is best,” Jefferson said, “which governs least.” But that government is best also, which promotes those conditions under which American liberty and American opportunity permit men to rise from the conditions in which they are as boys, to the best and highest place in the gift of the people.

I know of no country anywhere in the United States where one party at least has on all occasions, when opportunity offered, illustrated this principle of good government and of Americanism better than Erie County. Look back for only a brief period at what the Republican Party of Erie County has done, and what has been the result? It took, when the contestants were great, and the contests severe, a poor boy who had educated himself—one of the most difficult things in the world—and nominated him for District Attorney, and he became Judge Hatch—one of the most eminent judicial lights that we have upon our Supreme Court. It took another poor boy who had educated himself, and made him District Attorney, and he became one of the ornaments of the Bench—as Judge Kenefick. It took another poor boy and made him the District Attorney, and he became one of the most efficient, able and incorruptible prosecuting attorneys that the State ever had—Mr. Penny. Pursuing this policy of recognizing that merit which illustrates the opportunities of American citizen-

ship, that merit which without ancestry to help, has that restless ambition which determines to get an education and then a career, it selects for its candidate this fall another illustration, a boy who has made his own way, has sent himself through the preparatory schools, has worked and sent himself through Cornell University, worked and sent himself through the law schools, and then so impresses himself upon the party that he is now candidate for that same great office of District Attorney—Mr. O'Malley.

Now, while we are in a great canvass in a great State, and in all of the States, where, on the national side are issues of the greatest importance, and on the State side in our own State an issue of great importance, and we have hurled into this canvass a brand new element. Just for a brief moment to divert from that theme. When I stood upon this platform two years ago, Cuba was in the throes of the results of a revolution and of oppression which had continued for three hundred years, and the brigand had not really become a citizen. To-day Cuba is one of the nations of the world, and the Lone Star Flag floats from her flagstaff, pulled up by the United States soldier working unselfishly to make a new republic in the Western Hemisphere.

When I was here two years ago I had to explain to you, as a member of the Committee of the United States Senate, why it was that we passed the unpopular law to give the revenues by tariff upon both things going into Porto Rico and Porto Rico products coming into the United States. To-day that policy needs no vindication, for Governor Hunt has just declared that Porto Rico, which was then in greater distress than any other country in the world, its capital and industries paralyzed, to-day Porto Rico is prosperous; Porto Rico is rich; the Porto Rican finances are more than they require for their needs; a school-house is on every crossroad; fifty thousand children are receiving instruction from a thousand school teachers in the English language and in American liberty.

Two years ago I was here and the Philippine problem seemed hopeless, and for two years the Democratic Party in Congress have done its best to make it hopeless, but to-day every vestige of rebellion has disappeared in the Philippine Islands, except among the Mohammedan Bolos, which number one hundred and fifty thousand; and the other ten millions, with a unanimity which has never been witnessed where a governor from a conquering

power went back, welcomed with the wildest enthusiasm as their savior, political, financial and industrial, back again to his post, that magnificent specimen of American patriotism, who sacrificed a great judicial career to serve his country at the request of William McKinley, Judge Taft, Governor of the Philippines.

Now, suppose we come to the two candidates for Governor, Mr. Coler and Governor Odell. I know Mr. Coler; charming chap; good banker down in Wall Street; a little wobbly in his politics; sometimes opposed to Croker and sometimes thinking Croker is a statesman; declared that the only friend that he had, when he quarreled with Croker during his Comptrollership, was Governor Odell. Now he publishes a letter of acceptance, and so does Governor Odell, the two great dramatic performances for the benefit of the people, on the notification to Governor Odell at Albany, and the notification in New York to Mr. Coler, that they were nominated for the position of Governor of the State. Now, I wish that these two letters were in the hands of every voter in this State, so that they could put their finger on it, as we used to do as boys at school and follow one down and then the other. I have no hesitation in saying that the letter of acceptance of Governor Odell is one of the best State papers that has ever been placed in the press for the benefit of this commonwealth. I have no hesitation in saying that while the literary finish of Mr. Coler's letter is excellent in its sentiment, it is a crawl. Governor Odell tells you what he has done and will do in reference to the charitable institutions of the State. He tells you exactly what he has done and will do in reference to the burden of taxation upon the people of the State. He tells you exactly what he wants to do in reference to the enlargement of the canal.

Thirty-six years ago, at a canal convention in this State, holding the same relations then that I do now, I made a speech in favor of the enlargement of the Erie Canal because I believed then, as I believe now, that whatever brings commerce in and through the State of New York, helps every transportation company in it as well as the people. But Mr. Coler proposes in his scheme, and the Democratic Convention in their scheme, something which would make the enlargement of the canal impossible. The enlargement of the canal will cost some eighty-five millions of dollars. Under the Constitution of the State of New York,

anything over a million dollars has to be voted upon by the people. No debt may be incurred that cannot be paid off in eighteen years, and a debt of \$85,000,000, with the interest upon it, to be paid off in eighteen years, would lead to the re-establishment of direct taxation, and that would lead to the defeat of the scheme. Now, Governor Odell proposes a constitutional amendment so that the limit of debt should be extended to seventy years, and then with a sinking fund for the principal, and with the taxation for the interest, it can all be taken care of by indirect taxation and not felt at all as a burden upon the real estate and houses of the State of New York.

But Mr. Coler's letter is interesting when he approaches the "coal plank." The coal plank was inserted in the hope that the coal strike would keep up until after election, but when the coal strike was settled, the coal plank was like Mahomet's coffin, suspended between heaven and earth—not very near to heaven and no chance of getting there. Now Mr. Coler says in his letter as to the coal plank: "At present I am not quite prepared to say that the times demand such drastic measures, but if certain things occur, and if certain things do not occur"—but then—I have been in politics over forty years and I never saw an "if" or a "but" elected to any office.

What is the popularity of "Steady Roosevelt?" That is it. Straight from the shoulder, and then knowing just where that blow is going to land. Brother Coler reminds me of an old story—Butler and Warren, and all those fellows charge me with telling nothing but old stories. Well, I love old stories; I love old wine—that is, when I drink any. I love old friends, and the older the better. I even love old women. My mother was an old woman. And I remember the story of a tenderfoot who went out West at a time when the plains were wilder than they are now, and he became so frightened at their reckless use of the gun that anything they did or offered him, he said it was splendid. No matter what they offered him to eat, he just liked it. They gave him buffalo steak with the hide on, and he said he never got anything better at Delmonico's; and then they took a boiled crow and dusted it with snuff and gave it to him, and he said "I like it, but I don't hanker after it." That's Coler's position on the coal plank.

But suppose we look at the coal plank and see precisely what

is the difference between Democratic remedies and Republican remedies for immediate distress or immediate calamity where the people are affected. I say that the history of both parties will prove for the past forty years that the Democratic Party, when it comes to meet a crisis, proposes some theory which is impracticable or an experiment which is disastrous—and I refer to the experiment of 1892 to 1896. Now, we had this condition that in a manner and with an acuteness never before known in this or any other country, labor and capital had locked horns, each able to sustain itself, and the bitterness of the contestants had become such that neither would yield, and winter was coming on with that most terrible of calamities to the people, the danger of not having fuel, and of industries not having fuel. Now, how did the Democratic Party propose to meet that? The question was to have coal in December. The Democratic Party proposed that the United States Government should seize the anthracite coal lands in Pennsylvania in order that we might have coal in December. But we have a Constitution of the United States under which we live and which we are compelled to obey. Under the Constitution of the United States the Government cannot take any lands of private individuals of a sovereign State without the consent of that State through its Legislature. Now, a matter of this sort affecting the pride and the interests of the great State of Pennsylvania would have to wait until the Pennsylvania Legislature met in January, and then it would take until it adjourned in May before they could come to a conclusion; and we want coal in December. Then if they did vote in the affirmative—which they probably would not—then the matter would have to rest till Congress met next December. Then would come a discussion which has been going on in reference to State rights ever since the Constitution was adopted in 1787. The whole Democratic Party would be arrayed against this invasion of State rights. The discussion would go on and it would last until Congress adjourned early in the spring. There would be two years gone, and we want coal in December. Then there is another proposition of the Constitution of the Nation, and that is, that you cannot take private property without compensation, whether it be for a highway or a postoffice or the court, or anything else. Then you would have to pass a law under which these properties could be condemned. Now, under that law, as every corporation coun-

sel knows who has tried to open a street or to get a lot for a fire company, as every railroad lawyer knows who has tried to run his line, you have to apply to the court for the appointment of commissioners; those commissioners take testimony, the Government on the one hand trying to prove the land is worth very little, the owner trying to prove that it is worth as much as the lots on the corner of Fifth Avenue anywhere. It would take two years to go through that process with these thousands of mines, and that, added to the other two makes four years, and we want coal in December. Then every lawyer knows, who has ever had anything to do with these things, whether he is a city attorney or whether he is a railroad attorney, or a village attorney, he knows that the party whose land is taken says: "I haven't got enough," and he appeals. Now, a case on appeal in the United States Court, going from the District to the Circuit Court and then to the Supreme Court to be heard and decided, takes six years, so that it would be ten years before the question would be decided, and we want coal in December. And then when the question was decided comes another provision of the Constitution of the United States, and that is, that the United States Government must first get the consent of the State and then it can only take lands within the State for lighthouses, for post-offices, for custom-houses, and for forts. And so, at the end of ten years the United States, if it got possession of the coal lands, could only use them for lighthouses and forts.

Now, what is the Republican method of reaching this question? Why, Theodore Roosevelt knew just as well, he knew just as well as you and I know that there was no power in the Constitution and none in the law which gave him the right to go within a sovereign State and either arbitrate or dictate between contestants in that State. But he knew this, and with his courage he acted upon it, that here was a crisis affecting the welfare and the comfort of the American people, a crisis which must be settled at once; he knew that he represented the American people; he knew that while as Theodore Roosevelt, a private citizen, an invitation to either side would be laughed at, an invitation from the President of the United States nobody has the strength to deny. He knew that when the contestants appeared before him in the parlor of the temporary White House, that the whole country and the whole world would be looking on. He knew that

they would have to present on each side their case and put their best argument forward, and then the whole people would have an opportunity to judge. He knew that with the whole people having an opportunity to judge, with the intelligent public opinion which exists in this country, the public opinion would make up its mind and that there was no power on earth that could resist unanimous American public opinion. As a result, why, yesterday a hundred thousand men went to work in the mines and to-day coal is being mined, and the conditions are being rapidly re-established for the full working of the forces in full operation of the mines, and we have coal in December.

Now, my friends, there is one other matter, and that is a National matter, because Brother Coler went into National affairs. Brother Coler says, with beautiful English and admirably making his point, knowing that the Republican canvass had for its strongest support, prosperity, he says, "Yes, we have prosperity; yes, we are in magnificent condition financially and industrially, but when the Republican Party claim that it is due to them or their policies or their statesmen, it is a monstrous fraud on the intelligence of the American people. We have prosperity because it could not be stopped or prevented. It is due to the isolation of the United States on this side of the world; it is due to our boundless resources; it is due to our genial climate; it is due to the restless energies of the American people."

Now, let's see. Just let's see. Every statesman admits, every writer of political economy asserts that, every college professor who occupies that chair which teaches the student to become a statesman, teaches that the highest attainment of statesmanship is to meet the burden of a great debt and get rid of it without paralyzing industries or the energies of the people. No country in the world has ever reduced its debt without making the taxes so great as to make the payment of the debt impossible because it checked industry. Now, we came out of the Civil War with a debt of twenty-five hundred millions. We had twenty-eight years of Republican administration to the close of Harrison's administration. In that twenty-eight years we paid two thousand millions of dollars of that debt, leaving only five hundred millions, and we had reduced the interest charge from one hundred and fifty millions a year to twenty-three millions a year. Then the Democrats came in, and instantly we became

borrowers for the first time in twenty-eight years, and to meet expenses we borrowed \$262,000,000 and added that to the debt. Then came 1896, and with the conditions that then prevailed in the country, the voters had had enough of Democracy and they fired it out. Then McKinley took office in 1897, and now we have had four years of McKinley and one of Roosevelt, and what is the result? Why, the Spanish War cost \$500,000,000, which we borrowed; and we had \$262,000,000 of Democratic debt; and to-night that \$500,000,000 of war debt has been paid, that \$262,000,000 of Democratic debt has been paid; the war taxes which yielded \$100,000,000 a year have been repealed. Well, now, what caused this? Why should we be enabled in twenty-eight years of Republican administration to pay all that, and in four years of Democratic administration coming immediately afterwards to incur \$262,000,000 of debt, and in five years of Republican administration following afterwards to pay the Democratic debt and a war debt of \$500,000,000 besides? What is there that does it? Same people. Same country. Why, Coler says, "I can answer that. It is the climate." Well now, if Brother Coler is correct, then the relations of the Democratic Party to the barometer are disastrous to the industries of the United States. We don't want any such storm center coming, because the clerk of the weather is hostile to any party.

Then when you come to the industrial side. The test of statesmanship is the policies which make the country prosperous, make the people—give them enjoyment, and which make for happiness. Now, in twenty-eight years we marched on until the close of the Harrison administration with a development of our resources which was simply the wonder of the world. From 1892 to 1896 there was a paralysis of our resources which was the wonder of the world. And then from 1897 to 1902 there was a progress in the United States and development of its resources and opening of its mines and its factories and employment of its energies, an energizing of its life that makes it the terror of the world. Why, my friends, how can there be two sides to this question? How can there be? What is prosperity that my friend Mr. Coler and my friend Governor Hill talk so glibly about? What is prosperity? I was down to Schenectady night before last, and I was there in 1896. When I was there in 1896 the locomotive works there were turning out two loco-

tives a month; had nine hundred men employed on half time. When I was there night before last the American Locomotive Works were turning out fifty-two engines a month and had four thousand men employed. That is prosperity. When I was in Schenectady in 1896 the General Electric Works had three thousand men employed, and then not on full time. When I was there night before last they had on full time and with higher wages than they had ever paid before, ten thousand men employed. That is prosperity.

"Ah, yes," says Mr. Coler, "but see what your prosperity has done. It has raised the prices of the necessaries of life." Well, I think that is true. I think that is true. When there is no purchasing power there is no price. When three millions of men are out of employment they are not buying anything, and the producers had no place where they could sell. The farmer got fifteen cents for his corn and fifty cents for his wheat. Why? Because the purchasing power of the country was paralyzed. To-day he gets fifty cents, I think it is, for his corn, and a dollar for his wheat, but the people who buy it have the money to buy it. And they have something to spare. How do I know that? Why, because since 1897 there have been a million more depositors added to the savings banks, there have been a thousand millions of dollars more put into the savings bank; because since 1897 there have been three thousand millions of dollars of farm mortgages paid off; because since 1897 the farmer's boy, who was then tramping through the streets looking for a job, now takes his best girl out every Sunday afternoon in a side-bar buggy.

But Mr. Coler says one thing, and I want to give him the credit for it, because it is the only positive assertion that he makes, and he stands on that plank with both feet, though it isn't in the Democratic platform at Saratoga. He says: "I assert before high heaven that if I am elected Governor of the State of New York I will see to it that the lunatics have potatoes and eggs." Well, now, as to eggs, they have their own peculiarity. The proprietor of the Eagle Hotel down in Peekskill, a hotel which George Washington stopped at—and they have the same bill-of-fare, though not the same food; he tells me that when an egg is without any question normal in its integrity they boil it; that when there is some doubt about it, they poach it; that when the

consistency would not enable it to be poached, they scramble it; when the scramble smells to high heaven, they make an omelette of it, and when they can't make an omelette, then they use the material in the arts and make the film on which photographs are made. Now, I want to make a prediction, and any man who is here who bets—and I hope there are none—that Mr. Coler's picture as Governor will never be on a film coming from one of those eggs.

Well, we have a State canvass; was there ever such a State canvass? The principal feature of it has been happily alluded to by the chairman of the evening. It is the feature that affects taxes. You know, I think there is more ignorance about taxes than anything else in the world. I have lots of friends who are getting salaries or wages who have no property, and they say: "What I like is high taxes because it makes these rich men disgorge." Well, now, we all want them to disgorge and pay their full share of the burdens, but it has been my experience in life, my friends, that the burdens of life—it is one of the evils of our civilization—the burdens of life keep falling down, down, till they rest heaviest on the bottom. No matter what it is, they rest heaviest on the bottom. An industrial paralysis throws millions of men out of employment, while the employer is able to live, while he cannot make money, and that rests worse on the bottom.

The only thing the Democrats offer is to repeal the tariff, which means paralysis of industries and means that the burden shall rest upon the labor and upon wages. Now, when you have a tax upon real estate, if it is a farmer it takes that much off of what he requires to improve his farm and add to it; if it is the owner of a house, it takes that much off of what he wants in order to educate a son to college, his bright boy or his brighter girl; if it falls upon the tenement, it takes that much out of the wage-earner, because the landlord always adds it to the rent. If it falls upon the merchant, he adds it to what he sells of the necessities of life, the food, the fuel and the clothes. When you take the tax off of real estate and put it upon corporations then you have solved another means and have solved this great problem. There have been an equal number of years of Republican and Democratic administration in our State in the last twenty years. From no Democratic source has there ever been a suggestion how

to relieve the people of this State tax. It was the Republican administrative genius for affairs and financial talent which devised the tax upon corporations. Whenever people want the privileges of organizing a corporation in order that they may do business upon a different basis than private individuals they ought to pay for it, when they get valuable franchises from the people, and the surplus earnings of corporations ought also to contribute very largely to the public welfare. And when a man dies and leaves a large estate it is no hardship upon his heir who gets all the rest, if the State gets a little for the protection that they have given to it while his father lived. And so when you come to liquor. We might have had a Democratic administration until the last day and there never would have been a tax on liquor.

Now, these methods have enabled us to pay off and relieve ourselves of the State tax; but who did it? We elected two years ago the level-headed business practical man who has ever occupied the gubernatorial chair.

You know, over on the other side, people all live in the country nearly, if they have a house in town they live in the country, and then the thing is to get through on Friday; Saturday is a half-holiday, and so they invite their friends down Friday. Mighty glad to see their friends Friday afternoon. Have a beautiful time Friday evening; take them around and show them the country. On Saturday morning take them around and again in the afternoon, and show them the same thing, same country, and when in the evening it gets heavy-lifting with the guest, they get down a necromancer, or sleight-of-hand fellow, and he pulls rabbits out of his coat tails, finds watches in his hat, discovers silver and gold and things where nobody expects them to be, and it ultimately gets in his pocket, and then everybody sitting around wants to try and do the same things, and they call that over there, if one of them succeeds in doing it, that he "can do the trick." Now, here is this affair of relieving the State of taxation, which we have been struggling with for twenty years, and finally a great financial necromancer, Benjamin B. Odell, has "done the trick." He has not only done that, but he has instituted in our State affairs a business energy and practical genius which is felt in every department of our State government and will be felt in far larger measure if he has two years more.

My friends, a year ago I was in this city, in order to be

present on President's Day at your unequaled industrial exhibition. I was to remain here a week, and then we were to have Railroad Day, and I was to deliver an oration. Then came that crime which shocked the world. There is no country on earth where, if the same tragedy had happened to the ruler, there would not have been a cataclysm of industrial and financial disaster, taking time for its recovery, and a long time. But Republican policies, of which the best and most magnificent representative was William McKinley, the Republican policies of protection and of sound money and the gold dollar of which he was the leader, had placed our industrial and financial system upon such a superb basis that the death, while it aroused the indignation and grieved the nation, was as if the best member of the family had fallen, but when the funeral was over with, the family take up their duties as before. And so this nation, when the funeral services were over, took up its duties, every man in his place, and the magnificent procession of progress which so originated with McKinley, and he was leader, went on in his superb pace, leading the American people to higher conditions of happiness and of comfort, astonishing the world by its progress, and in the place of the old leader who was fallen, stepped the most energetic, the most original, the man with the greatest initiative, who now lives among the rulers of the world, Theodore Roosevelt.

Let us perform our plain duty. Let us re-elect the best business Governor we ever had for our State business; let us give him a Legislature through which he can carry out his plans of prosperity of the State, and let us place a Congress behind and to support in those policies which he originates and stands for, which are best for our country now and in the future, Theodore Roosevelt.

KEYNOTE OF THE CAMPAIGN

SPEECH AS TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN OF THE NEW YORK STATE
REPUBLICAN CONVENTION, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 12, 1903.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I thank you for the distinguished honor you have conferred upon me. The Republican Party of the State of New York assembles in convention confident and aggressive. It is unanimous and enthusiastic in the support of its issues and its candidates. Since we last met, four years ago, death has removed the great leaders of that campaign. McKinley, the best loved of Presidents; Hanna, the most extraordinary organizer and political leader of our period, and Thomas B. Reed, who rescued the House of Representatives from chaos and by his genius enabled it to transact public business—all fell in the prime of life and in the midst of their usefulness. Leaders may die, but the great party which followed them, after worthy tributes to their memory, passes on to grapple with and solve, as it has ever done, the problems which always arise in free governments, and to solve them in the interest of the people. The party of Lincoln and of Grant, of Hayes and of Garfield and Arthur, of Harrison and of McKinley, of Seward and of Blaine, leaves the memory of its great statesmen who have departed to the tender care of a grateful country. Their fame and their achievements are part of the best history of the republic. They have the singular record in partisan politics of receiving now an almost unanimous verdict from all parties that the measures which they promoted and which were enacted into laws were most beneficent and useful.

We bivouac only for the night and with the dawn take up our march to win and confirm still further and necessary factors, financial, industrial, commercial and colonial. Our opponents say that we must be judged in the coming campaign by the record of the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations. We accept the challenge, whether it be in what we had done or propose to do, or in meeting the as yet undecided issues and unknown candidates they promise.

There have been glorious decades in our national story from 1860 to 1900—saving the Union, emancipation, reconstruction, the resumption of specie payments—all of which loosened the energies of the American people and bent American genius and industry to the development of our resources. The far seeing mind and the courage of our business men, the skill of our artisans, our farmers and our miners, have placed us in the front rank among the producing nations of the world. In the midst of prosperity never before equaled, of employment, markets and opportunities never before possessed, we tried the experiment for four years of a new policy. From the ruin which involved us all we emerged under McKinley and Roosevelt. Not only that, but more, we have repaired the disasters from 1893 to 1897. We have opened the closed factories and mills; we have built up new industries and removed every trace of the devastations of semi-free trade and unsound currency. The distress from putting into legislation false theories may be greater in our commercial and industrial age than those which followed in the track of armies in former generations. The task of the Republican Party when it came into power with McKinley and a Republican Congress was to remove handicaps upon American enterprise and energy and furnish the bases for prosperity. The enactment of the Dingley Law and the gold standard of value, in the wonderful results which followed in the South as well as the North, in the East as well as the West, was a fitting close to the contributions made to the greatness of our country and the happiness of our people by the Republican Party from 1860 to the close of the nineteenth century.

There was one other measure required to enable the people to take advantage of conditions brought about by the Dingley Tariff and the gold standard. A large proportion of our business men and corporations had gone down under loads of debt which could never be lifted during the panic times from 1893 to 1897. We cleared the way for them to take advantage of the situation by the enactment of a general bankruptcy law, a law which has not been a vital necessity at the close of any Republican administration.

It is the best tribute to the prosperity resulting from the measures which came after 1896 and to the inherent honesty of American business men that nine-tenths of those who were com-

pelled to take advantage of this remedial measure have since, in their abundant success, paid principal and interest of their indebtedness.

But the nineteenth century closed, not only with phenomenal prosperity, not only with the balance of trade in our favor greater than the accumulated sum of all our previous history, not only with the farmer, the manufacturer, the artisan and the worker happy and hopeful, but with all this accomplished notwithstanding a foreign war. In ninety days the conflict was over, and the republic was facing new and untried problems. It had the unrest of Cuba, which had lasted for three hundred years, upon its hands, the poverty of Porto Rico and chronic insurrections in the Philippines, but to-day Cuba holds an honorable place among nations, Porto Rico is lifted into healthful and prosperous conditions, insurrections have ceased in the Philippines, and their ten millions of people, with singular unanimity are eagerly acquiring American education, liberty and law. This has been brought about by President Roosevelt.

The problem of four hundred years seemed about to be settled and the two oceans united by the canal across the isthmus. With the growth of our Pacific Coast States and the possession of our islands across the ocean and the trade of the Orient, the building of this canal became a necessity of paramount importance. All other measures dwindled into insignificance compared with the opening of this highway. The situation was intense and the changes dramatic. Colombia proposed to the United States a treaty called the Hay-Herran treaty, naming the terms of the concession and asking for its ratification by the United States. The French canal company conceded to the modification of their proposal which our commission had recommended. The accomplishment of the desired result depended only upon the formality of the ratification of the Colombian Congress of the treaty proposed by their dictator and accepted by the United States when he had under the explicit terms of their constitution the full power to make it. But the dictator, now president, had Congress called together for that purpose and saw a superb opportunity of a holdup in the necessities of the United States. Day after day the warning went forth from Bogota from the representatives of the department of Panama and to Bogota from Panama itself that if the treaty was rejected Panama would

reassert the independence which had been violently taken from her eighteen years ago.

The Colombian Congress in their territorial isolation and subordination to their dictator and president failed to comprehend the gravity of the situation. While this treaty, the most important document in their history, was pending in their senate and house they adjourned for a day to have read to them the sonnets which had been written by one of their poetic deputies.

The occasion, however, was not one for verses to Venus and the situation not an opera bouffe, for Theodore Roosevelt was President of the United States. When Panama fulfilled the threat known to all the world for months and successfully accomplished her revolution the President acted within his constitutional privilege with the directness, courage and wisdom characteristic of his whole public life.

He was under the mandate of a law passed at the last session of Congress which authorized the purchase of the French canal properties, which appropriated \$10,000,000 for immediate purposes and authorized the secretary of the treasury to borrow \$130,000,000 more, which directed the President to make the terms for the building of the canal and then to begin. If he failed within a reasonable time to secure the concession, then he was to turn to Nicaragua and Costa Rica. But without any intervention or action on his part in the kaleidoscope of politics common to the Latin nations of Central and South America, the opportunity was presented, and he seized it. He might have let a war go on between Panama and Colombia; he might have commenced fruitless negotiations with Nicaragua and Costa Rica; he might have transferred the whole question to Congress, weakly abandoning his executive responsibility, but the mandate of the American people was upon him to build the Isthmian Canal, and the Congress by the unanimous vote of the senators and members of the house of representatives on the Republican side and a large number of senators and members of the house on the Democratic side have affirmed the wisdom and the constitutionality of his course.

It is an interesting question, Where have those of the opposition been during these epoch making times and where are they now? They were against the gold standard of value and some of them are still. They were against the tariff and all of them

are now. They opposed our holding Cuba and insisted upon its immediately receiving independence when the wisdom of McKinley said, "We will take the time necessary for the Cubans to learn after three hundred years of tyranny the primary lessons of representative government and liberty. In the meantime we will by sanitation remove from our own country the peril of yellow fever which has so often come from Cuba and devastated us." Now they admit we were right. They proposed free trade to Porto Rico, which would have pauperized her and made her a beneficiary of the United States treasury. But the Republican majority devised a tariff of limited operations which has placed that island in a condition of prosperity never before dreamed of by its people.

They were opposed and are still to the retention of the Philippines, while the Republican administration has sent there a thousand school-teachers, has spent millions in opening roads, has reclaimed the land from the Orders upon a fair understanding and adjustment and then transferred it to the people under the operation of our wise homestead laws. The moneys spent in the Philippine Islands which have been of such incalculable value in the development of their resources and for the employment and wealth of their people have come from a taxation on themselves which has not been felt because of their prosperity. Under the Spanish rule all the taxes went to Spain. Under the American rule all the taxes are spent upon and for the people of the islands. The lessons of representative government, of liberty and of law, are being learned more rapidly among the tribes of the archipelago than among any such people ever before, and the peace and happiness which prevail are lessons in colonial administration to the governments which have been ruling colonies for centuries. The opposition stands for negation and allegation. Instead of having a live programme to present to the American people which will intelligently promise an improvement of existing conditions they are looking for issues among the debris and the scaffolding thrown aside by the Republicans after their beneficent structures have been completed.

I sat on Saturday in the House of Representatives listening to the widely advertised "keynote" speech of the eminent orator from New York, Mr. Bourke Cockran. It could not be otherwise than eloquent and attractive from so distinguished a source.

It received the unstinted applause of his Democratic associates. In lurid language he pictured the downfall of representative government from the usurpations of President Roosevelt; he told how the House of Representatives, the sole authority for revenue bills, had been ignored by the executive and how the tyrannical precedents which had at times overthrown the English House of Commons were revived in our age; he pictured the tyranny of Henry VIII., and he brought Cromwell and his soldiers in for the dispersion of parliament; he told the Speaker of the House that unless this was instantly resented liberty in the United States had breathed its last. I confessed to some alarm until I inquired what was the tyranny which had inspired such a magnificent defense of the palladium of our liberty. I discovered it was that the President, following the example of President Cleveland, had by executive order fixed the limit of partial and total disability for the veterans of the Civil War.

Mr. Cleveland and his commissioner of pensions had interpreted the pension act of 1890 to mean that it was within the power and the duty of the executive to state the age for partial and total disability when the veterans could receive a pension without examination. Cleveland had fixed total disability at seventy-five; Roosevelt had revived the tyranny of Henry VIII., had marched with Oliver Cromwell at the head of his army into the House of Representatives and dispersed the members to their homes and arrested the calcitrant minority by reducing by executive order Cleveland's seventy-five years for total disability five years, or to seventy.

As I left the capitol with the pictures painted by this despairing eloquence and the appeal to the courage of the House to reassert its rights ringing in my ears, I leaned apprehensively against the foundations of that superb structure, but found them still quite firm. With his usual directness, and acting, as usual, under the advice of his attorney-general, and the precedents heretofore established, the President cut the inextricable tangle of legislation and gave to the old soldiers, whose ability for manual labor had been impaired by age, the privileges of pension laws passed at the demand of a grateful people.

We are told that in this campaign the Democratic Party will be united and that the differences which occurred in 1896 and 1900 will be healed. The eminent doctors who are diagnosing

the disease and prescribing for the patient to bring about this result are the conservative President Cleveland on the one side and the radical William Jennings Bryan on the other.

Mr. Bryan's prescription is the same as was administered in 1896 and 1900, free silver at 16 to 1, while Mr. Cleveland's is tersely expressed when he says, "Return to sanity." If Mr. Bryan's policy is adopted, then the business interests and the labor of the country will have no more to do with the ticket than they did in the two previous campaigns. If Mr. Cleveland's advice is adopted, which admits that the policy of his party in 1896 and in 1900 was insanity and its candidates were lunatics, how can we be assured that the return to reason is permanent, or when once in the possession of the goods they may not play crazy tricks with the assets of the country?

In the Senate last week a distinguished Democratic Senator was put forward to make the keynote speech for the campaign in that body. He was surrounded by Senator Gorman, the leader, and all the wisdom of the minority. His speech was an assault upon President Roosevelt for his usurpation in the recognition of the Panama republic and in his pension order and a statement that the Democratic Party would put forward at their convention issues and a candidate which would make the Republicans "fight for their lives." He was challenged to state the issues, but he admitted that could not be done except by the committee on resolutions and with the approval of the convention when it meets in July. He was asked to name the candidate, and he said that the candidate as yet was simply qualities—qualities which would win—and that these qualities would materialize into the man at the convention. It is now April and the Democratic candidate is only qualities. It is only three months' time to July, when those qualities are to materialize in a man. Surely by all the laws which we know and all the science with which we are familiar that candidate can never get through without the assistance of an incubator!

Happily for our party, we are not waiting to be told what we are to believe by the national convention, nor is our candidate composed, as yet, of inchoate qualities. Every Republican in this broad land knows in what we believe and knows for whom he is going to vote. The campaign is to be conducted by the opposition almost solely against the tariff and President Roose-

velt. We accept the challenge upon the Dingley Bill and point to what it has accomplished. We will not make any general revision of its beneficent provisions, but as in the case of the Porto Rican, the Cuban and the Philippine tariffs, we will modify its practical application as its necessities require, but we will not have those modifications made by its enemies. Our Democratic friends admit that prosperity is greater than ever before, but they say that it is not due to the protective tariff, it is not due to the American markets for Americans, it is not due to the gold standard of value, it is not due to Republican policies and administrations, but that God has wrought it all. Speaking with due reverence, if this be true, why is it that he gives prosperity only in Republican administrations and disaster under Democratic presidents? The broader and better view is that a merciful Providence gives to man the earth and the fullness thereof for his enjoyment according to the qualities which will enable him to succeed. Those qualities were exhibited in every Republican administration and the opposite in the only three Democratic administrations we remember—from 1856 to 1860, from 1885 to 1889, and from 1893 to 1897. The founder of the great banking house of Rothschilds was asked to what he ascribed his phenomenal success in the terrible competitions of his period when he started from such humble beginnings. His answer was, "I never would have business transactions with unlucky men." Then why should the American people think for a moment of abandoning conditions of unusual prosperity for partnership with the hard luck party.

They say the President is rash. He was rash when as assistant-secretary of the Navy he paralyzed the bureau officers by ordering the Navy to burn powder in target practice, but that rashness materialized in the highest conservatism when those gunners under Dewey sank the fleet at Manila bay in fifty minutes and Cervera's fleet at Santiago in sixty. All of his acquaintances said he was rash when he threw up a comfortable berth in the Navy Department to take upon himself the perils of the campaign of Cuba; that he was rash when at the head of his regiment he encountered volleys of Spanish bullets in battle; but that rashness displayed the qualities which make the American people both trust and love him. He has probed deeply the great departments of the Government and prosecuted and con-

victed those of his own household of faith who were found guilty. He enforced the law when dire predictions of disaster were made, and by doing so lost the favor of some of the ablest and strongest of our financial leaders, but the Supreme Court has sustained his action and the markets have rebounded with that phenomenal rise in the securities affected which demonstrates the judgment of the investors of the country.

The completion of the Isthmian Canal will bring the cities on the Atlantic Coast nearer the Orient than the ports of Continental Europe or Great Britain. Its construction will revolutionize the commerce of the world and incalculably promote the position and prosperity of the United States. The President's advocacy of a large Navy, which will make us the second maritime power of the world, is a wise and farsighted policy to meet the expansion of commerce which must come to us by the Isthmian Canal and the open door from American diplomacy. To ask for an open door for the surplus products of American industry with neither a mercantile marine nor battleships would be ridiculous, but when the greatest and strongest and richest nation of the world asks for an open door with a fleet commensurate with its power, necessities and rights, the answer will be a welcome without a shot fired or the peace of the world disturbed.

It is not now, but rather at our fall convention, that we speak upon State issues and the State administration. We are living to-day in the midst of the clamor and noise which always precede an adjournment, not about what has been done, but what it is claimed will be done. But when the Legislature adjourns and the executive has acted we will enter cheerfully with our State ticket upon the fall campaign, confident of an approval of the able administration of Governor Odell. The greatest manufacturing State in the Union, foremost in finance and commerce and third in agriculture, will not lag behind in the great national procession led by Theodore Roosevelt in November. With a past unequalled in its splendor, a present unsurpassed in its beneficence, issues as clear as the sunlight and a candidate who represents better than almost any man in our history the vigorous life, integrity, ability and patriotism of typical Americanism, the Republican Party will march once more to victory.

FAIRBANKS FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

SPEECH SECONDING THE NOMINATION OF CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT, AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CON-
VENTION, CHICAGO, JUNE 23, 1904.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: A friend asked me just now if I have had my dinner, and what I am about to say is in behalf of dinners for the American people.

I cannot help thinking, in listening to the eloquence with which we have been entertained this morning, what will be the difference when our Democratic friends meet on July 6 to go through with their duty of nominating candidates and adopting a platform. We here have been unanimous upon our candidates, all agreed upon our principles, all recognizing and applauding our great statesmen, living and dead, and agreeing with them, while on the other hand in that convention there will be the only two living exponents of Democratic principles.

On the one side will be their only President, rising and saying, "Be sane," while on the other side, in opposition, will come their last candidate for President, saying, "Be Democrats." The two are incompatible.

I present two thoughts which it seems to me in the flood of our oratory have been passed by. There has been criticism of this convention that it was without enthusiasm and perfunctory and would occupy little place in history. But this convention is an epoch making convention because it marks the close of fifty years of the life of the Republican Party.

That fifty years—if we should divide recorded time into periods of half a century—the fifty years from 1854 to 1904 would concentrate more that has been done in this world for the uplifting of humanity than all the half centuries which have preceded.

While this half century has done so much in electricity, so much in steam, so much in inventions, so much in medicine, so much in surgery and in science, its one distinguishing characteristic will be that it was the half century of emancipation—emanci-



pation all over the world, led mainly by the American thought and the success of the American experiment.

But when for our purpose we look back over the accomplishment of this half century we find that the best part of it, that which has made most for the welfare of the country, most for emancipation, has been done by the Republican Party.

Just one word to throw the picture on the wall. In 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed and the territory whose purchase is now being celebrated at St. Louis was dedicated to slavery, and in 1863 Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves.

In 1854 James Buchanan at Ostend issued the manifesto to buy or conquer Cuba for slavery, and in 1900 William McKinley set up Cuba as an independent republic. In 1854 the first cable flashed under the Atlantic Ocean, and the use of this tremendous discovery came from a Republican President who was the only President since the formation of the country who had presided over the destinies of a free people, with freedom in the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence no longer a living lie.

So it is also in diplomacy. Fifty years ago those of our people who were located among the semi-civilized nations of Asia and Africa placed themselves under the protection of the consuls of Great Britain or the European government most influential in that territory. To-day an American fleet appears in the harbor of Tangier, and the Secretary of State sends the thrilling message, "We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

Now, it was only sixty years ago, ten years preceding the birth of the Republican Party, when that great wit and great writer, Sydney Smith, asked, "In the four quarters of the globe who reads an American book or goes to an American play or looks at an American picture or statue? What does the world yet owe to American physicians and surgeons? What new substances have their chemists discovered or what old ones have they analyzed? What new constellations have been discovered by the telescopes of Americans? What have they done in mathematics? Who drinks out of American glasses or eats from American plates or wears American coats or gowns or sleeps in American blankets?"

The answer is that from the figures coming yesterday from the Department of Commerce and Labor we discovered that this year \$450,000,000 of manufactured articles from American

looms and factories go into European markets to compete with the highly organized industrial nations of the world in their own market places.

An American can start and go around the world and not leave his country. He can cross the Pacific to Yokohama in a Northern Pacific steamer. He rides through Japan and China on American electrical appliances. He goes 6,000 miles across the Siberian Railway in American cars, drawn by American locomotives. In Spain, alongside of their orange groves, he finds California and Florida oranges. In France he drinks wine labeled French which has come from San Francisco.

He crosses the Nile upon a bridge made in Pittsburg. In an English hotel he goes to his room near the roof in an elevator manufactured in New York. His feet are on carpets made in Yonkers. On the banks of the Ganges he reads his cables by an electric light run by an American and made in America. He goes under old London in tunnels dug and run by American machinery and American genius, and then he goes to Newcastle and finds that the impossible has been profitably accomplished, and coals—American coals—are carried to Newcastle.

Now, my friends, while we represent the positive, the convention which meets on the 6th of July represents that element unknown heretofore in American politics, the opportunist. It is waiting for bankruptcy, waiting for panic, waiting for industrial depression, waiting for financial distress.

There was an old farmer upon the Maine Coast who owned a farm with a rocky ledge running out into the ocean and called Hurricane Point; on it ships were wrecked, and he gathered his harvest from the wreckage, and, in his will, he wrote, "I divide my farm equally among my children, but Hurricane Point shall be kept for all of you forever, for while the winds blow and the waves roll the Lord will provide." But we have put a lighthouse on Hurricane Point, a lighthouse of protection, with a revolving light shedding golden beams over the ocean, and American commerce in going and coming is absolutely safe.

Time eliminates reputations. One or two men represent a period. There are very few statesmen who are remembered by succeeding generations. The heroes of the Civil War on both sides are reduced in popular recollection to two names. Issues and events, which make history, bring out qualities of greatness in

those specially gifted for statesmanship and government. The constructive genius of the country was first in the Federal, then in the Democratic, then in the Whig and for the past half century in the Republican Party. This is the result: In our first era the leaders were Washington, Hamilton and Adams, Federalists; in the second era, Jefferson and Jackson, Democrats; in the third era, Webster and Clay, Whigs; in the fourth and most productive era of all that makes life worth living and citizenship valuable, Lincoln, Grant and McKinley, all Republicans.

We love Roosevelt because of his "indiscretions." When everybody else thought it foolish his foresight provided powder and ball for Dewey. When the financial world said it was folly to enforce the laws the Supreme Court of the United States justified the wisdom of the President. Who calls him rash, impetuous, and tumultuous? It is the statesmen who enacted the Wilson Bill, with its attendant distress, bankruptcy, and ruin; the statesmen who would have given us silver at 16 to 1, with the inevitable collapse of our home industries and our foreign markets; it is the statesmen who would give up the Philippines and would have lost the opportunity to build the Isthmian Canal while discussing questions of international law and constitutional prerogatives.

To Roosevelt's "impulsiveness," "rashness" and "indiscretions" we owe the settlement of the coal strike, which, if continued, would have produced among a freezing people in the great cities and among millions thrown out of employment, because of manufactories shut down, suffering, riot and revolution. We owe to Roosevelt's "indiscretions," "rashness" and "impetuosity" the removal of the fear and the perils of gigantic trusts by proving that they are the creatures of and within the power of the law. We owe to Roosevelt's "indiscretions," "rashness" and "impetuosity" the solution of the problem of four hundred years, the realization of the hope of the statesmen of this country for more than a half of a century, the fruition of the dream of Columbus and the welding of the East and the West and gaining of the Pacific Ocean and the Orient for our commerce, in the concession of the right and the beginning of the work of the construction of the Isthmian Canal. If, as our opponents say, the campaign is Roosevelt, we follow the fortunes of our young leader, confident of victory.

And now, gentlemen, it seems to me we have not attached enough importance to the office of Vice-president of the United States. It was not so among the fathers. That of the two highest potential presidential possibilities one took the Presidency, the other the Vice-presidency. But in the last forty years ridicule and caricature have placed the office almost in contempt.

Let us remember that Thomas Jefferson, let us remember that old John Adams, let us remember that John C. Calhoun and George Clinton and Martin Van Buren were Vice-presidents of the United States. Eighty million people want for Vice-president a presidential figure of full size.

He presides over the Senate, but he does more than that. He is the confidant of the Senators. He is the silent member of every committee. He is influential in that legislation which originates and which is shaped in the Senate, and now that we have become a world power, now that treaties make for either our prosperity, our open door or closed harbors, he is necessarily an important factor in the machinery of the Government.

By the tragic death of McKinley the Vice-president was elevated to the Presidency, and to-day for the first time we have re-nominated the Vice-president who thus came to be the President.

All that has been said here about Theodore Roosevelt is true, but the highest tribute to him is that the American people for the first time unanimously demand that a Vice-president shall be the elect of their choice for the Presidency of the United States.

Now, gentlemen, it is my privilege in looking for vice-presidential possibilities to announce what you all know—that we have found a vice-presidential candidate of full presidential size. Everybody knows that if the towering figure of Theodore Roosevelt had been out of this canvass one of the promising candidates before this convention for President of the United States would have been Charles W. Fairbanks.

And New York, appreciating his great ability as a lawyer, appreciating the national name he has made for himself as a Senator, appreciating his dignity, his character and his genius for public affairs, seconds the nomination of Charles W. Fairbanks for Vice-president of the United States.

MASS-MEETING AT SARATOGA

SPEECH AT THE MASS-MEETING OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION IN SARATOGA, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 14, 1904.

FELLOW CITIZENS: The Fremont campaign of 1856 is an inspiring theme. The Republican Party was formed in 1854, and after two years of preparation it made its first national canvass under a leader whose adventurous career, initiative, courage and success had made him a popular hero. We who in these peaceful days are discussing the questions of the hour seem to be involved in controversies which are purely academic compared with the mighty issues of that period. The conscience of the country and its moral sense had frequently risen against the horrors of slavery to be bludgeoned into silence by the cry of "Disunion!" Now, however, the men who place right and righteousness above everything had formed a compact and organization and could not be scared from their position by the threat that the Union would be dissolved or the Republic destroyed and the hope of the ages blasted. The demand of the party was strictly within the limits of the Constitution. It recognized the existence of slavery in that instrument, but it contended that the fugitive slave law and the carrying of slaves into new territories for the purpose of carving out of them slave States were unconstitutional. It was a contest which for the first time took the discussion of the iniquities of slavery from the small body of abolitionists who had been missionaries against the institution into every forum, including the pulpit. It was an educational campaign on the value of the Union, the blessing of liberty and the atrocities of slavery. It prepared the way for Lincoln, the Emancipation Proclamation and the preservation of the Union with slavery eliminated.

It may not be out of place for a first voter of 1856 to briefly narrate his personal experience. Westchester County was Democratic and proslavery. My father and his brothers and my grandfather were heartily and cordially with the overwhelming Democratic majority which believed that the Union could only be preserved with slavery and that its value was such that the price was

not dear. As a student at Yale I listened to the marvelous eloquence of Wendell Phillips. I went to hear him, believing him to be the enemy of his country and a traitor to its Constitution and preservation. I met him afterward in the house of Professor Chauncey Goodrich, one of the best loved of the Yale professors, and found this titanic force of the platform, this most vitriolic of speakers, the most cultured, refined and fascinating man I had ever been privileged to know. Following Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison and other leaders of the abolition movement came to New Haven and under its historic elms appealed to the young men of the college. I came home convinced that no sacrifice was too great to prevent the introduction of slavery into the new territories, that no enormity of legislation had equaled the fugitive slave law, that to surrender the Constitutional rights of free men and free labor in new territories and to enforce the fugitive slave law in the States was to give the country to the slave power and ultimately to throttle liberty in our land. My life at home with my Democratic and proslavery family and associations was very unhappy. Two weeks after graduation the few Republicans there were in the village—and they were very few, all of them, my father said, “damned Yankees and dangerous pests”—had a meeting. Every campaign has a new and favorite orator. In the canvass of 1856 it was George William Curtis. The Committee came from the last train without him, and then I was called out simply to be committed. As I stood before those neighbors of my childhood all the pent up feelings which had become so acute from my position at home burst into a torrent of explanation as to why I had become a Republican. The news of the effort was carried to New York, and ten days afterward, under the auspices of the State Committee, I was stumping the State—and I am still at it. When I went upon that speaking tour I was a student wholly unfamiliar with audiences or with the machinery of political parties, but I was possessed with all the ardor and enthusiasm of an evangelist. The first time I was on a platform in a great meeting with one of the most distinguished members on the Republican side of the United States Senate, his calm, reserved and rather platitudinous presentation of the Constitutional argument seemed to my youthful mind to be unworthy of the occasion. Believing slavery was the curse of the country and that it was in danger of capturing and holding the Government and that such was the se-

cret purpose and conspiracy of James Buchanan, when my turn came late in the evening the effort I made was characterized more by vocabulary and epithet than argument. I lay awake that night wondering where I could get the evidence for a successful defense of the libel suit which I was sure Mr. Buchanan would bring against me, but received the next morning that lesson so valuable to the young enthusiast. The newspapers had not reported my speech.

Every survivor of that period who belonged, as most of the young men did, to Democratic families and lived in Democratic neighborhoods and who cast then his first vote for Fremont will recall similar experiences. The eloquence of Phillips is largely a tradition. I have heard all the great orators of my time, both in this country and abroad. None of them was capable of producing such immediate and marvelous effects upon hostile audiences. He rarely made a gesture, was conversational and familiar, in strong contrast to the impassioned oratory of that period. His sentences were crisp, short, and epigrammatic, and he used Saxon words rather than Latin derivatives. His own self control while this flood of flaming wrath was flowing over the audience created more excitement than any passion could have done. The listener wondered if the cap on that volcano finally did blow off what might happen. The fear of the dissolution of the Union had made the Constitution and the Union too sacred to be discussed, too holy to be endangered, even to preserve liberty.

Phillips in his most famous oration described the arrest under the fugitive slave law of Anthony Burns and his return to servitude. Burns had escaped while very young to Boston. He had educated himself, demonstrated marked ability, had gained considerable property and owned a comfortable home, in which he was living happily with his wife and children, one of the most respected citizens of the neighborhood. His owner ferreted him out, and when he was carried to the court the feeling was so strong that United States troops had to be placed around the courthouse, which was also further protected by chains to keep out the populace, and the United States soldiers under the American flag escorted him to a United States man-of-war, which carried him back to his master and to slavery. Phillips' description of this scene was agonizing in the extreme. Women fainted, and the Puritan blood drove from the brains of this Puritan audience

their political antagonisms and welded them into sons of liberty. It was at this supreme moment that Phillips paused and, rising higher and higher, finally lifted his hands in solemn invocation to heaven and said, "If such crimes against humanity and liberty, against home, wife, and children, are to be perpetrated underneath the authority and by the power of the Constitution and the Union, may God damn the Constitution and the Union!"

But God did not damn the Constitution or the Union. On the contrary, he created a party who were willing to give their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors to the preservation of the Constitution and the Union, but adding, as Webster's immortal phrase expressed it, "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever."

The remarkable story of the Republican Party is its consistency with the principles enunciated in this its first national campaign. It declared then that the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution together were essential to the preservation of republican institutions. It declared for the rights of the States, but also for the prohibition of slavery going into the new territories. It denounced the barbarism of polygamy and slavery. It declared for the construction of a railroad to the Pacific Ocean, for the improvements of our rivers and harbors, and for the promotion of our internal commerce.

In 1860 the Republican Party again met in national convention, reaffirmed its platform of 1856 and added to it the protective tariff. In 1864 the Republican convention again affirmed the principles of 1856 and 1860, but also ratified Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and demanded the utter and complete extirpation of slavery from the soil of the Republic. By the Republican success in 1868 the principles of the Republican Party, unchanged from its foundation, were reaffirmed and its declaration for the extirpation of slavery was placed in the Constitution by the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments.

From 1868 until the present canvass there has not been any change in the policies or principles of the party. Its foundation has been the preservation of the "Union and Liberty, one and inseparable, now and forever." It has maintained with unswerving fidelity the protective tariff of Washington and of Hamilton, of Fremont and of Lincoln. It has redeemed the currency from fiat money and placed the credit of the United States upon the

sure foundation of a stable and unfluctuating standard of value. It has maintained the high ideals of the early days in its candidates for the Presidency. The historian will hardly say that Polk and Pierce and Buchanan met these ideals, but the historian of the future, when partisan passions have passed, will declare that Lincoln and Grant and Hayes and Garfield and Arthur and Harrison and McKinley and Roosevelt have all been worthy successors of Washington, of Jefferson, of Adams and of Madison.

I shall leave to our distinguished candidate for Vice-president and the other orators the presentation of this historical celebration of the present issues which divide the two parties, but I call attention to this pregnant fact: In our brief history by natural death or assassination the Presidency has become vacant and a succession under the Constitution necessary five times. It is a contingency always before us. If Judge Parker should be elected the respected and honored citizen who is the second on the ticket will enter upon its incumbency in his eighty-second year. That presents also the possibility of the Constitutional rule of succession coming into force. Under the law if the President and Vice-president die the members of his Cabinet succeed in the order of creation of those ministries—first the Secretary of State, second the Secretary of the Treasury, third the Secretary of War. Every President must necessarily select the men who will fill these places from his most distinguished advisers and friends in the convention. This rule is inviolable and cannot be avoided. The two gentlemen who would thus be honored beyond all others would be Governor Hill and William J. Bryan. Then would come a Southern man, and John Sharpe Williams would be entitled to consideration. A contingency, therefore, is possible, though it may be remote, that the people of the United States will have elected either one of these gentlemen indirectly for their Chief Magistrate. The voter must take into consideration in casting his ballot whether his choice would be either of these gentlemen as compared with Roosevelt, Fairbanks, John Hay, Leslie M. Shaw and William H. Taft.

We have in Theodore Roosevelt, a candidate so singularly free from official criticism that, though he has been in public life and in administrative and executive offices since he was twenty-four years old, the opposition can find no failure in ability and no flaw in integrity. They are opposing him in this canvass upon

the one issue that he acts too quickly. But in all great positions quickness of judgment is frequently essential for the success of the enterprise and for the credit and glory of the country. We have as a candidate for Vice-president a gentleman of tried experience who has won a foremost place in Federal affairs and who is also singularly free from any possible criticism of his public life or his capacity for the Presidency. There are few men in all our history who have won the distinction, accomplished the results and added so much to the position of the United States in the world and to the glory of American diplomacy as John Hay. Few finance ministers have attained such distinction and credit as Leslie M. Shaw. But if all these should die we have in the office of Secretary of War a man who in the most difficult position in our Government has won the attention and commanded the admiration of the whole world, who rises to the best thought as to American citizenship and the highest ideals of American statesmanship, and that is Secretary Taft. Fellow citizens, here is a quintet any of whom would receive the vote and confidence of every member of the Republican Party, every one of whom is worthy of that greatest position in the world, the Presidency of the United States.

Compatriots who cast their first vote for "Fremont, Free Soil, Free Men, Free Press and Free Speech," we have lived. In every age those who have rounded out fifty years of maturity and activity have experienced the pleasure of living, but to us of this last half century have come the thrill and inspiration of events unequalled in their importance in all other recorded time. It has been our glorious lot to witness and participate in the mighty revolutions and evolutions which have changed the destinies of nations and recreated the Republic. Invention and discovery and the subduing of the forces of nature to the service of man have limitlessly reduplicated energy and production. Education, science and art have kept pace with material progress, but it is in our privilege as citizens of the United States that we have gathered our richest harvest. The shock of battle broke the shackles of the slave; the purified wells of patriotism cleansed our people of sectional hate and the passions of a civil war. Righteousness of professions in the immortal Declaration of Independence enacted into recognition of the equal rights of man in our Constitution and laws placed us upon solid foundations

for material development. The recital of the growth of our country in all which makes for liberty, opportunity, homes and happiness for the people and power and wealth for the Republic from the campaign for Fremont to the canvass for Roosevelt surpasses the hopes of the Fathers or the Utopian dreams of the wildest imagination. Its cold figures are at once both romance and history. We believe that with God's blessing most of these marvelous and beneficent results have come from the policies and measures of the Republican Party.

We have often won by the aid of Democratic voters, but it was the wisdom of our party and the folly of theirs which drew their patriotic support. Their leaders say our prosperity is due wholly to Divine Providence, but we answer with due reverence that, while "God gave the increase, it was Paul who planted and Apollos watered." We here to-day find the ardor of aspiration which moved us to march and carry the torch for Fremont, after fifty years of faith and works, has developed into the enthusiasm of realization. Himself born within and the product of our half century we hail and follow the best, the healthiest, the most ideal, product of this glorious period—Theodore Roosevelt!

GOVERNOR HIGGINS AND JUDGE PARKER

SPEECH ON THE ANSWER OF GOVERNOR HIGGINS TO JUDGE PARKER'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE OF THE NOMINATION FOR PRESIDENT, AT OLEAN, N.Y., OCTOBER 4, 1904.

FELLOW CITIZENS: We are at the home of our candidate for Governor and find that the tributes to his worth as a man and a citizen which the committee have spoken are cordially indorsed by his neighbors of all parties. He is an exception to the law that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country, for he is held in the highest esteem by the people among whom he has lived and labored. His career is one of remarkable success and yet truly American. It emphasizes that this is the land of opportunity. He was his own master in an independent business at nineteen, and before he was forty his enterprises covered several States and he had won the confidence and esteem of his associates, competitors, and employees. After repeated efforts this large constituency persuaded him to represent them in our State Senate, and during his nine year service he won the distinction which led his party to nominate and the people elect him Lieutenant Governor, and his promotion to the Chief Magistracy of this great commonwealth will come as a well earned reward.

Neither in business nor public life have his efforts been spectacular. He built the one upon solid bases and in the other has done in a modest and unobtrusive way distinguished service to the State. By his talent for affairs he brought order and right methods into our State Administration. He caused all fees to be turned into the Treasury and the expenses of the Departments subject to law and inspection. He revoked the time honored but dangerous practice of State officers incurring obligations in anticipation of appropriations. Men inside and outside the Legislature who were seeking the insertion of claims and schemes in the supply and revenue bills called him obstinate, but it was the rugged and intelligent honesty which they could neither deceive nor move by flattery or threats. The number of jobs he has killed fill a Legislative graveyard, and the money he has saved the State

amounts high up in millions. He has an open mind for all who are entitled to be heard and respect for those whose position and experience give their views exceptional weight, but the decision which he renders is the absolutely independent judgment of Frank W. Higgins. He was on the Finance Committee of the Senate under Governors Flower, Morton, Black, and Odell, and as Lieutenant Governor has been on all the Boards which form the Directory in the management of this vast business of ours, the State of New York. No nominee in a generation has come to the office with such long training and experience for the position and such demonstrated capacity to serve the people with exceptional ability as Governor Higgins.

The candidates and issues are pictured more plainly than ever before in any canvass in the addresses to the notification committees and the letters of acceptance of President Roosevelt and Judge Parker. They are each very able and typical of the man and of his party. On the Republican side are the confidence and aggressiveness which have come from the fulfillment of promises and the successful results of policies carried into execution in legislation and executive action. On the Democratic side are the hesitancy, the qualifications of positions, and the caution in statement and transparent doubt as to their merit or popularity which is natural from repeated defeats of party propositions and divided counsels on party principles. Both candidates have been in public life since they were twenty-four years of age.

The experience of President Roosevelt has been administrative and executive, while that of Judge Parker has been purely judicial. He has been twenty-eight years upon the Bench and the last eighteen upon the Supreme and Appellate Courts. The billows of party controversies in the repeated crises in our national affairs which have risen from discussion and legislation upon the tariff, currency, standard of value and policies growing out of the war with Spain have not rolled upon or disturbed our State Halls of Justice. Questions of the highest Constitutional moment have been raised and passed upon by the Supreme Court of the United States, but in the State courts the vast accumulation of business has not only absorbed the judge's attention, but overworked him in the decision of matters which arise in a commercial commonwealth. So Judge Parker has during these stirring times of the last two decades in doing his full duty, as he

has upon the Bench of our Court of Appeals, had his mind and time occupied in the court in listening to arguments and in his study in arriving at conclusions upon the briefs on questions of individual and corporate rights, wrongs and remedies. At fifty-two he is suddenly taken from judicial seclusion and the cautious conservatism of the judicial atmosphere to be placed in command as the leader of his party, which has been in the minority nine out of eleven Presidential elections since the commencement of the Civil War and is composed of singularly discordant, antagonistic and irreconcilable elements.

The Judge has evidently been studying the briefs of party counsel and feeling his way to conclusions. By his votes he sustained the silver heresy of the unlimited coinage of silver at sixteen to one in 1896 and in 1900 and had not changed his mind on that question when the National Democratic Convention made him its candidate for President. When the convention, after heated controversy as to the reaffirmation or rejection of the silver platform of the two previous campaigns, decided to leave out the silver plank by not mentioning it, which in effect left the idea in force, the independent press and many Democratic papers immediately and emphatically announced the doom of the party. The Judge then sent his telegram on July ninth, announcing it as his belief that the gold standard was irrevocably fixed. In his speech to the notification committee he was still apparently of the mind of the great mass of his party that while the gold standard is fixed its stability is dependent upon the production of gold and not upon its merit. Then came further claim by the Republican and independent and some Democratic papers that this position is not incompatible with Judge Parker as President and with a majority of his party in both Houses changing the standard of value to silver at sixteen to one. So upon this argument the Judge in his judicial way and by his judicial training arrives at last on Sept. 25 to the conclusion that he firmly believes in the gold standard of value. It is admitted by all parties that this gold standard of value is at the basis of our national and individual credit, of our standing among nations as a financial and commercial power and of the prosperity of our industrial life. But here we have the cautious process in the judicial mind of a judgment arrived at and apparently changed from previous opinions by an argument persistently maintained through every organ of

public opinion from July 9 to Sept. 25. It is safe to say that if the Democratic convention were reconvened and a resolution offered that they believed in the gold standard the resolution would be beaten by an overwhelming majority.

We cordially welcome this distinguished convert. We rejoice that though he comes in only at the eleventh hour he receives with all the rest of us his penny or share in the prosperity which has followed the adoption of the gold standard. But we who have fought the fight and kept the faith find no authority for making the eleventh hour laborer the superintendent of the vineyard.

The next crucial question is the tariff. The protective policy has become a part of every business and occupation in the country. It is inextricably intertwined with our industrial development, employment and wages. The Democratic platform is a plain and emphatic declaration that protection is the robbery of the many for the benefit of the few. This was also the declaration of 1896 and 1900. Judge Parker apparently went along with the general trend of his party on this question until his position as the national leader compelled a declaration, and a declaration necessitated again a study of the briefs. In his speech to the Notification Committee he avoided the issue by practically declaring that with the Senate Republican and protectionist it was not a practical question. This led to a heated controversy among the journals which support him as to his real position, but in his letter of acceptance he practically takes the position of the Democratic platform, with the modification, however, of a cautious and tentative reduction of tariff schedules so as not to interrupt and paralyze business and confidence.

Sentiment outruns facts; apprehension is speedier than deeds. Sentiment and apprehension produced the disastrous industrial and financial conditions during the Cleveland administration before the bill itself which embodied the Democratic free trade views had become a law. The manufacturer hesitated to purchase raw material and lay in stock. The merchant hesitated to give his usual orders. The wheels of industry were checked, and, like a house of cards, the industrial fabric came tumbling about our ears, stopping employment, wages and purchasing power, and we had one of the most disastrous panics in our history.

The Judge assures us that this revision should be undertaken

on scientific principles, but necessarily by men who are hostile to the principle. He claims that if there is a reduction and revision by the Democratic Party then it will be done "by the friends of the masses." The masses are the voters of the United States. The Dingley Law was passed in 1897; Its effects were felt in 1900, and the masses decided for the continuance of the protective policy by a majority of over 800,000. The Republican House which passed it was re-elected in 1898 and again in 1900 and in 1902 by the masses of the country returning to Washington a House of Representatives pledged to stand by the tariff for protection and the protective principles on the lines of the Dingley Bill, which during that period has been and is still in full operation.

In his speech to the Notification Committee and subsequent utterances the Judge advocated a representative government for the Philippines. This again led to bitter controversies among the journals indorsing him as to whether he meant a territorial government or absolute independence. Again, after a study of the briefs in his letter of acceptance, he declares for the absolute independence of the Philippine Islands, and he does this on the ground that to preserve our own right "a free people cannot withhold freedom from another people and themselves remain free." This is an abstract proposition which no one will dispute. But every student of our history and present policy knows that the government of the Philippines, which is condemned as imperialistic under McKinley and Roosevelt, was the government of Louisiana under Jefferson, of Florida under Monroe, and has been and is the government of Alaska since it was acquired by Secretary Seward almost forty years ago.

The testimony of Governor Taft, whose intelligent and disinterested views of the Philippines no one disputes; of his successor, Governor Wright, a Tennessee Democrat; of the high officers of the Army and of visitors of imperialistic views who have remained long enough in the islands to ascertain their conditions is that nothing is so dangerous to the peace and good order of the Filipinos as these vague promises of independence which no party in power would dare carry out. There are between seven and eight millions of the Filipinos of many different nationalities, of whom only about 25,000 are sufficiently educated to take any part in the Government. Independence would hand

the rest over to these men, intelligent enough to seize power, but so imperfectly educated as yet in the lessons of liberty that they would inaugurate an oriental tyranny. The Philippine Islands came to us by treaty. Treaties when ratified become the supreme law of the land, and that treaty was ratified by the votes of both Republicans and Democrats. It could not have been passed except for the fifteen Democratic Senators who gave it their votes.

Under McKinley and Roosevelt the United States has administered its trust to the Philippine people in the broadest and loftiest spirit of justice and civilization. There has never been an instance where a dependent people have been educated so rapidly, received such a large measure of civil government and are progressing so satisfactorily. In the adjustment of territories in the terrific struggle of the great producing nations of the world for markets the Philippine Islands would be seized by one of the great powers within a month after they had an independent government unless their independence was maintained by the Army and Navy of the United States. The constantly increasing surplus of our production demands markets abroad. The Philippine Islands as their people progress will be to us of ever increasing value as a market and as a foothold for the Orient when the adjustment comes which will necessarily follow the close of the Russo-Japanese war. And right here I may say, while the Judge criticises our foreign policy, history will record as we derive the benefits in succeeding years how much has been done for our country by the quick apprehension and courage of Theodore Roosevelt and the brilliant diplomacy of John Hay.

The happiest illustration of the infinite distance in practical administration of affairs between executive and judicial minds and training is in the treatment by the candidates of the Panama Canal. With governments, as with individuals, emergencies often arise where quick judgment and action are essential, where the blow must follow the decision. Panama was an independent province when it became part of the Republic of New Granada, but retained its sovereignty. A dictator and usurper suspended the Constitution of the Republic and ruled by military power. Panama revolted, but the revolt was subdued. He called a Constitutional convention in which Panama was not represented by any one elected from her citizens or chosen by her, and in that

way an attempt was made to take away her sovereign rights. He changed the name of the Confederacy from New Granada to Colombia. The efforts of Panama to throw off this tyranny were defeated several times, mainly by the United States, because of the obligation on this Government to keep the transit of the isthmus free. Colombia, through its accredited representative at Washington, made a treaty with the United States for the necessary concessions to our Government, which was ratified by the United States Senate. The Vice-president of Colombia seized and imprisoned its President under a clause of the Constitution of that so called Republic that when the President is absent the Vice-president exercises his power. The imprisonment of the President was decided by the Vice-president to be a case of absence. Either by natural death or foul means the President died in prison, and then the Vice-president declared his absence permanent. It is the most successful case of absent treatment on record.

It suddenly occurred to him that if he could hold up the United States by refusing to accept the treaty, which was his own, and increasing the price from ten to twenty-five millions and at the same time confiscating the property rights of the French Company he would make one of the most brilliant operations in the history of finance. To accomplish this he called a Congress which he permitted to legislate on no subject except to reject the treaty and adjourn. The delegates from Panama and every organ of opinion that Panama possessed informed him and the Congress that in case the treaty was rejected Panama would resume the sovereignty of which she had never been legally deprived. This threat was successfully executed, the Republic was formed, and within the next two weeks recognized not only by the United States, but by most of the leading nations of the world. The regiments of the Colombian army which were within the boundaries of the Republic either surrendered or went back to their homes. President Roosevelt thereupon entered into negotiations with the Republic of Panama and secured a treaty which gave infinitely greater advantages to the United States in the building of the canal than did the Hay-Herran treaty with Colombia. This treaty was ratified by the unanimous vote of the Republican Senators and almost the equally unanimous vote

of the Democratic Senators, though the latter vigorously denounced the action before casting their vote in its favor.

The Judge says that while the construction of the canal must be pushed through to completion as speedily as possible, the methods of President Roosevelt were unconstitutional or in violation of international obligations and broadly intimates that if President he would not have done any such thing. The Panama Canal was the dream of Columbus and has been the hope of the centuries for four hundred years. With the growth of our country on the Pacific coast and the necessities of our commerce on the Pacific Ocean the immediate construction of that canal has become the most pressing want of our people. The processes by which the canal could be secured were either the prompt, courageous, and successful action of President Roosevelt or waiting for the result of the revolution and then commencing negotiations anew with Panama if successful, or, if not, with a power which had already been faithless to us, or else to carry the case into some international court. If the Panama case had been prepared and tried and then by successive appeals passed upon ultimately by Congress and the President, there would have been many successors of Judge Parker before the United States would have been in sight of an Isthmian Canal.

There is an executive attitude in the Judge's position upon the old age pension order of President Roosevelt. In 1890 Congress passed what was substantially a service pension bill with certain limitations which devolved upon the Pension Bureau and the President the authority to fix an age limit for partial and total disability for manual labor. President Cleveland fixed it for total disability by executive order at seventy-five, and President McKinley also by similar order defined the age limit for partial disability. President Roosevelt, in view of the time which had elapsed and the aging so rapidly of the veterans, changed these limits to sixty-two for partial and seventy for total disability. The wild cry that he thereby usurped the functions of Congress by appropriating money without authority is made ridiculous by the fact that before his order became effective he sent to Congress a recommendation for an appropriation to meet the increase called for by the order, and the appropriation was made by the unanimous vote of both Houses. The Judge says that he would instantly rescind that order and then seek legislation. The

present Congress dies on the day that the President is inaugurated. The new Congress will not meet until December, 1905. So the old veterans under such action would be deprived of the pensions which they receive under Roosevelt's order until Congress meets and then for the months following until legislation could be had to place them again in the position where they had been deservedly put by the order of President Roosevelt.

Loose charges of violation of the Constitution and usurpation of power on the part of President Roosevelt have found no specification except in his recognition of the Panama Republic and in his order on pensions. It is safe to say that what he did in both cases was in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution and has met the approval of a larger majority of the citizens of the United States than any controverted action of a President in our times.

The cry of extravagance is always raised by the minority against the majority, by the party out of power against the party in possession of the Government. It has neither force nor effect unless specifications and proofs follow the charge. But neither in the Democratic platform nor in the Judge's speech to the Notification Committee nor in this last letter is there a suggestion or specification of an objectionable expenditure. If the Democratic candidate proposes to reduce the Army or to cut down the Navy, why does he not say so? If he proposes to stop the rural free delivery, why not announce it? If to reduce pensions, why not make it public? The reasons for the increased expenditures since 1875 and since 1892 are as plain as figures can make them. The real reformer, if he believes in reform, would point out the cancer and then promise the knife. It is true, as the Judge says, that the expenditures of the Government have been doubled since 1875, and his figures are \$274,000,000 in 1875 and \$582,000,000 last year, but the United States of 1904 is more advanced from the United States of 1875 in its progress, development, wealth, business, public and private, and population than was the United States of Tilden's candidacy for the Presidency from Jackson's administration. There is no record in ancient or modern history of national growth in every element of wealth and power, of expansion in industries, railroads, telegraphs and telephones, in farms and the results of the harvests, in factories, mills and mines and their products, in employment, wages and wealth, as

during our last forty years. The advance in the condition of our country between 1875 and 1904 may be said in figures to be possibly treble in some fields and many times more in others, but the estimate cannot be met in figures of the phenomenal results of American progress and prosperity since we began in 1875 to rise from the results of the abolition of slavery and the ravages of the Civil War.

We are supporting to-day eighty millions of people in greater comfort, who are the owners of more homes in proportion to their numbers, and the possessors of larger opportunities of every kind to make life worth the living than were the 43,000,000 in 1875. There were 3,079,672 more farms owned in 1900 than in 1875. There were 225,577,382 more acres under cultivation in 1900 than there were in 1875. The total amount of farm products were \$1,806,146,779 more in 1900 than in 1875. Our exports and imports were one billion four hundred million more in 1903 than in 1875, and the balance of trade in our favor was \$413,985,167 more in 1903 than in 1875. Our wealth was sixty-four billions more in 1903 than in 1875. We had 150,210 more miles of railroads in 1902 than in 1875 and 151,166 more miles of telegraphs. The output of our factories was \$8,806,954,124 more in 1903 than in 1875. We stood in 1875 very low in rank among the agricultural producers of the world. Now we produce one-fifth of the wheat, one-half of the animal food products, four-fifths of the grain and three-fourths of the cotton production of the whole world. Our internal commerce was insignificant in 1875. In 1903 it amounted to 3,000 millions of dollars, or more than the foreign commerce of all the nations of the world. Our Navy has grown proportionately to our expansion. The Pacific Ocean at that time was comparatively an unknown waste of waters, but, with the possession of Hawaii, Guam and the Philippine Islands, with the construction of the Isthmian Canal and the growth of population and cities and commerce on our Pacific Coast is becoming an American lake.

President Roosevelt's natural aptitude for affairs has been developed by extraordinarily favorable training. At twenty-four he was in the Legislature of the State of New York and brought in contact with representative government. Then came the Police Commissionership of the second greatest city of the world, the reducing to practical application of the Civil Service Law, the

preparation of the Navy for the war which he foresaw, the life of the camp and the field, the care of his troops and the victory in battle, and now for four years President of the United States, having before him in that high office questions as important to the country and to the world as ever met the judgment and decision of an occupant of the White House. No President has grown as Roosevelt since he was inaugurated in all that constitutes in ability, experience, efficiency and wisdom, the highest equipment for that most difficult and powerful position, the Presidency of the United States.

REPUBLICAN PARTY FRIEND OF LABOR

ARGUMENT THAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE FRIEND OF
LABOR—SPEECH AT SCHENECTADY, N.Y. OCTOBER 18, 1904.

FELLOW CITIZENS: In this great industrial community, with its thousands of artisans in the General Electric and American Locomotive Works, it seems proper to speak on the political relations of labor.

The labor organizations of the United States celebrated this year their decennial, or rather, the tenth anniversary, of the establishment of one day in the year as a legal holiday in honor of labor. As the hosts of workingmen were marching under their several banners all over the country during this presidential year the thoughtful members must have considered the question of voting. The measures of which party have done most to elevate labor and which in its policies and principles is most likely to advance their interests in the future must have occurred to them. Every calling, in addition to its material rewards, must have that dignity and consideration from people engaged in all other pursuits which inspires self respect. Labor could never hold this position while slavery existed, for slavery not only held in bondage millions of laboring men, but compelled them to work without wages or liberty. It bought and sold them as it did cattle upon the farms. This not only degraded work, but it practically barred one-half of the United States from the activities, enterprises and opportunities of the free labor of the country. But in order to perpetuate the system a determined effort was made, which came near being successful, to open the new territories, which have become great States, in the Northwest to this institution.

It was in the moral and the religious uprising against the iniquities of the system and its extension that the Republican Party was born. Its members came from all existing parties. They surrendered all differences on economic questions to unite in order to fight for free men and free soil. The territories which were thus rescued became the homes of millions who made them

the granary of the country and of the world, of millions who, by enjoying all the rights, privileges and opportunities offered by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, established happy homes and whose children have advanced to conditions of comfort, independence or affluence and places of dignity, honor and trust.

But the Republican Party did more. By the Emancipation Proclamation of Abraham Lincoln the Declaration of Independence, which was a byword and mockery all over the world, was inspired with the spirit of its language, and its glorious truths became the law of the land. Americans were no longer apologists for their country, but proud of their citizenship. By that proclamation and the success of the Civil War not only were all the territories reserved for free men and free labor, but the slave States, from which free labor had been excluded, no longer had a Chinese wall around them, but were open to the enterprise, the energies and the activities of the artisans, the mechanics and the laboring men of the country. Labor, both of brains and hands, the lot of every human being in our country who can be counted among the wage earners, possesses by this action and the policies of the Republican Party—first, our country's freedom from the incubus and stain of slavery; next, a union founded upon an indestructible basis, and third, a recognition of the fact that free government rests upon industries which can only be sustained and prosper where all its people are free.

We have given too little attention to the effect of policies of government upon our material conditions. We have since the Civil War progressed so rapidly and developed with such astonishing results and our resources have seemed so inexhaustible that we have lost sight of the fact that all these may be paralyzed by bad legislation. We have too often believed that no matter which party is in power, no matter what may be its policies, nothing can resist the inevitable march of the American people to prosperity and power. But happily of late years politics, both practical and theoretical, have become a part of every business and occupation. There is a genius for government which promotes prosperity and an incapacity which, however patriotic its purposes, plunges the country into panics.

In 1861 the Republican Party enacted the Morrill Tariff for the protection of American industries. In this they were follow-

ing the lessons inculcated and the policies inaugurated by George Washington and Alexander Hamilton at the foundation of the Government. Every new country which has varied climate, soil, forests, rivers, and wealth in mountains must remain agricultural and sparsely populated unless it has diversified industries. I do not think the most bigoted theorist on free trade would deny that up to a certain point the policy of protection gave to the United States its manufactures and employment, and to the American capitalist and laborer our market, or that it has created a purchasing power which could not otherwise have been attained. In addition to the natural increase in population there have come to us, because of hard and pauperizing industrial conditions in foreign lands, millions of immigrants since the Civil War. If we had been an agricultural country, if we had been purchasing our manufactures mainly from abroad, because at the beginning we could get them cheaper, we could not have taken care of the natural increase of our own people, much less have found employment for this vast army of immigrants. But under the conditions which have been created by fostering American industries and enterprises, by constantly keeping in sight the one great fact that by law we will impose upon all articles manufactured in foreign countries a tariff which will be high enough to protect the American artisan, mechanic and laborer in his wages, we have been able, except during brief periods of depression, to give employment to all who desired to work and to constantly enhance the scale of wages until they are nearly double what they are in any other country.

The policies which have produced these results have been Republican from the start and are Republican to-day. They have always been insistently and persistently fought by the Democratic Party, and they are insistently and persistently fought by the Democratic Party now. Once only in the forty years since the enactment of the Morrill Tariff have the enemies of this policy succeeded. They succeeded by the votes of the workingmen. They succeeded by convincing labor that there would be more employment and a larger share in the profits of production by free trade, by abandoning as far as possible the principle of protection and removing it altogether where its object was to foster and maintain manufactures in this country which could not live without it and to make the tariff simply a revenue measure. No

disappointment so severe ever came to those who had wagered their employment, their incomes and their homes upon this change of policy. No disaster of equal magnitude ever overwhelmed the losers, but as all of us are equally benefited or injured by legislation and policies it involved both those who won and those who lost in common ruin.

Mr. Gompers, the able president of the Federation of Labor, estimates that during the period of apprehension, distrust and legislation, while the Democratic Party had the Presidency and both Houses of Congress from 1892 to 1897, there were three millions of men out of employment in the United States. It is a historical fact that at the close of President Harrison's administration and the commencement of the Democratic the country had never before been so prosperous, labor never so thoroughly employed, business never so good and wages never so high. As soon as the Republicans came into power with McKinley in 1897 they enacted the Dingley Tariff. It is a law whose object, purpose, and administration are, first, the protection of American industries, and, second, revenue. Statistics of the Census Bureau show that under the operations of this law during the administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt those three millions have been re-employed and 1,500,000 more provided with remunerative work.

The Democratic candidate for Governor, Judge Herrick, in his speech at Rochester last Thursday, stated the Democratic doctrine on the tariff for protection or free trade in the following sentences:

"Our industries have ceased to be infant industries that need protection. The increase of wages is due not to the tariff or any other law or party, but to the unceasing efforts of organized labor." The merit of this declaration is its frank belief in free trade, but its weakness that it disregards the lessons of history and experience. It is true that organization has accomplished for labor great and beneficent results. It is the tendency of our times in all nations for capital on the one hand and labor on the other to unite. The problem which is slowly being solved is to establish and maintain a basis for their peaceful working together. It is the Republican idea that under free trade both would be helpless and that protection is necessary in order that the earnings of any industry may be sufficient to attract capital

for its promotion and to give to labor a share which will maintain wages upon the American standard. We cannot reach any international basis of wages. This is impossible so long as conditions in the United States and in Europe are so widely different. Here labor is in demand and can make terms; there the supply is largely in excess of the demand. The congestion of employment abroad reduces the wages of those who can find work to very low levels. There is chronically a large army of unemployed clamoring for work at any price which will keep off starvation. Transportation is so cheap that the markets of the world are practically one. Labor is more thoroughly organized in England than anywhere, and yet, though very ably led, the scale of wages there is far below what prevails here. Why, then, cannot the English labor leaders raise the scale to our standard? The answer is conclusive, because the policy of England is free trade. Germany, Belgium and Austria dump into the English markets the products of their cheaper labor, and the English artisan must accept a proportionate scale of wages or the industry in which he works goes out of business. This unfair competition has ruined the silk and many other industries in Great Britain and made thousands idle and in want and distress. The policy of protection is to keep American labor from the consequences of ruinous competition with the pauper labor of Europe. So far the policy has been successful. It has enabled us by retaining our own market to keep up and advance wages and maintain universal employment. But the Democratic theory carried into practice would very soon by flooding our market with foreign goods, drive American labor out of employment or place it upon the European scale.

But labor is not only interested in these policies which give it employment, but it is also immensely and intensely interested in receiving honest money for honest work. The resumption of specie payments when the paper dollar had sunk so low was as much in the interest of labor as it was for the credit of the Government. But the one act which has done more than all others to assure the wage earner in every vocation, manual or professional, his full share in the fruits of his skill and the protection of his savings has been the gold dollar and the establishment of gold as the standard of value. The worker in every field knows that by this the compensation which he receives for what

he gives has a purchasing power for the living of himself and family and for independence and a home which is subject to no vicissitudes or disastrous fluctuations. There is no better criterion to judge of the prosperity of wage earners than the deposits of the savings banks. The deposits of the savings banks from 1893, when Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated, until 1897, when President McKinley came in, increased from \$1,800,000,000 to \$1,940,000,000, or \$140,000,000, while from 1897, when Mr. McKinley was inaugurated and the Dingley Tariff Law was enacted, and subsequently when the gold standard of value was established, the deposits of the savings banks increased from \$1,940,000,000 to \$3,200,000,000, or, in other words, they increased over \$1,200,000,000. The number of depositors under Cleveland increased 284,000, while under McKinley and Roosevelt they have increased 2,240,000. Had the same conditions existed during these eight years as during the previous four, that increase, instead of \$1,200,000,000, would have been less than \$400,000,000. I think it is fair to claim that this difference between \$140,000,000 and \$1,200,000,000 is due to a return to the policy of protection and the enactment of a gold standard law by the Republican Party.

But the Republican Party has been conspicuous for legislation directly bearing upon labor. In addition to the abolition of slavery in the United States, it has ended it in the Philippine Islands. It prohibited under severe penalties the involuntary servitude of persons kidnapped from other countries, and it abolished the form of slavery known as peonage. It stopped the cooly trade, which was a menace to labor, and it adopted the Chinese exclusion act, which prevented millions of Chinese from coming into this country to take away the employment and reduce the compensation of American labor. It applied these laws to Hawaii and the Philippines so as to prevent the large Chinese population of that country from coming in here as citizens of the United States. It passed laws prohibiting alien contract labor. This was a system which had grown so that large corporations and great contractors were bringing in organized armies to take the place of American workingmen. Under Republican legislation that can no longer be done. It brought convict labor under conditions where it can no longer compete with the free labor of the United States. It passed laws for the protection of seamen

when under the American flag. It provided for the inspection of steamers, so that greed could not put in peril those who work on them, and upon the same principle enacted laws which have benefited railway employees. It enacted an eight hour law for all artisans and laborers employed by the Government. In order that labor might have distinct recognition and a voice in the Government Republican legislation created the Bureau of Labor and the Department of Commerce and Labor, with a representative in the Cabinet of the President.

Now this brief review is what the Republican Party has practically done in the interests of the wage earners of the United States in the fifty years of its existence. Its legislation embodies the sum and substance of all which has been placed upon the statute books for the benefit of labor.

President Roosevelt's record has been remarkable and consistent as member of the New York Legislature, Governor of the State and President. The tenement house commission, regulating sweatshops, factory inspection, restricting child labor, employers' liability and liens for mechanics and workingwomen are only a few of the many reforms he advocated and secured. When the subject is no longer a matter of political controversy the whole country will indorse the opinion of Judge Gray on the President's action in the coal strike. This eminent and fair minded Democrat said in a public statement: "I have no hesitation in saying that the President of the United States was confronted in October, 1902, by the existence of a crisis more grave and threatening than any that had occurred since the Civil War. I do not think any President ever acted more wisely, courageously or promptly in a national crisis. Mr. Roosevelt deserves unstinted praise for what he did!"

Those who depend for their living on wages or salaries are most interested in taxation. The increased tax is added by the landlord to the rent, and by the storekeeper to food and clothes. The regulation and distribution of this burden demand the best talent and training. The government of our State furnishes a conspicuous example of the results of ability and experience. Under the last Democratic Administration ten years ago the direct State tax was about \$10,000,000. This was levied upon land and homes, upon tenements and stores. This year it is about \$700,000. The burden has been distributed upon liquor

saloons, inheritances and corporations. During his eight years in the Senate and as chairman of the Finance Committee Lieutenant Governor Frank Wayland Higgins rendered conspicuous service in advancing these reforms. To a thorough training in private business he has by this experience of ten years in the Senate and as presiding officer of the Boards which conduct our State business become one of the best equipped men in our Commonwealth. He is able, honest, admirably trained and famous for his openmindedness and independence in judgment and action. The State needs him now that, in addition to its many affairs which require skill and devotion to the public service, it is entering upon the grave work of building the \$100,000,000 canal.

AT A BUCKWHEAT BREAKFAST

SPEECH AT THE BUCKWHEAT BREAKFAST GIVEN BY SENATOR PLATT, TO CELEBRATE THE ELECTION OF ROOSEVELT AND FAIRBANKS AND THE REPUBLICAN STATE TICKET, AT THE AH-WA-GA HOUSE, OWEGO, N. Y., NOVEMBER 15, 1904.

OUR HOST AND HOSTESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: Originality and initiative are the evidences of youth. This Buckwheat Breakfast, celebrating the election of Roosevelt and Fairbanks, and our State ticket, is the most original and unique of political events. It finds its suggestion and execution in the brain of our host. In bringing us here to the scene of his boyhood days, his start in life and his early triumphs, he carries us back to first principles. It is the country boys, born and raised on the farm or in the village, who govern the country in the Cabinet, in Congress, in gubernatorial chairs, in State legislatures and in the mayoralty of great cities. Breakfasts of buckwheat cakes, pie, country sausage and mush and milk have given to their digestive machinery muscles of steel so tried and tempered as to defy the luxurious creations of French chefs, and a degenerate civilization has never impaired either their health or their appetites. They dine with and help bury generation after generation of city bred men, and remain as active and vigorous as ever.

I said once to a well-known and very successful soldier, "What is the essential element of victory for an army?" His answer was, "Plenty of beef and healthy stomachs."

The late Emory Storrs told me once a buckwheat cake story. This brilliant lawyer always succeeded in acquitting his man charged with murder and was retained all over the country. On this occasion court was held in a rural town in Arkansas. At breakfast the judge and Storrs were sitting together and delighted with plates piled high with hot buckwheat cakes. The landlady stood behind her guests with wide-mouthed pitcher of New Orleans molasses. She said, "Judge, will you take a trickle or a dab?" The Judge said, "I am very fond of molasses, so I'll take a dab." Whereupon she put her hand in the pitcher and,

gathering all it would hold, emptied the molasses on the judge's cakes. Storr's Chicago stomach could not stand that, so he said, "I'll take a trickle." Whereupon she dipped her fingers in the molasses pitcher and sprinkled the fluid on the lawyer's cakes. But in our civilization we have the glorious luxury of American cookery and American maple syrup.

Of all the aftermaths of my many campaigns this is pre-eminently the one for throwing bouquets. The audience loads the actors with them, the actors hurl them at each other, and before the footlights, as well as behind, there is a bower of roses. King David began life by playing the harp and then became King of Israel. Senator Platt began his political career by leading the Glee Club in the Fremont campaign of 1856, and for twenty years as leader of his party in the Empire State, he has won both fame and affection. Martin Van Buren as a party leader was a factor in the destinies of the Republic. Thurlow Weed for thirty years accomplished results which no other political leader had ever been able to bring about. Senator Platt's twenty years of leadership will stand in our political history as unequaled for freedom from factional strife within the party and glorious victories of the party.

We extend our congratulations to Governor Odell. His two administrations will compare favorably with the best the State has ever had. In the management of this campaign he has shown wisdom, tact and admirable generalship.

We cordially congratulate Governor Higgins. Fortunately the attacks made upon him were long enough before the election for the people of the State to see his honest face and learn of his magnificent equipment for their chief executive. He continued to rise in the estimation of his fellow citizens from the day he entered upon the platform until election night.

We are glad to have with us our successful candidate for Lieutenant-governor, Mr. Linn Bruce, whose eloquent voice did so much to bring about our victory. And to Mr. Mayer, the Attorney-general, and all the others of the ticket we also present our felicitations.

You gentlemen of our Congressional delegation and of the Senate and the Assembly of our State are a part of the most remarkable and historical political triumph of our lives. Members of the Assembly are elected every year and Congressmen and

Senators every two years, and ordinarily one election differs little from another. But the Congressmen, Senators and Assemblymen who this year receive their certificates and take their seats will in the evening of their days recount, like the veterans of Waterloo or Gettysburg, to admiring and breathless listeners in the family circle and among the wise men of the town that "1904 was the year when Roosevelt and I"—or, in the vernacular of politics, "me and Roosevelt"—were elected."

And now, gentlemen, we come to our chief. What elected Roosevelt? The answer is as clear as revelation: Roosevelt elected Roosevelt. No personality in American public life ever stood out so distinctly in individual characteristics, in emphasis of traits peculiarly his own and in outspoken confidences with the whole people as President Roosevelt. The qualities which his enemies caricatured or anathematized were the ones which endeared him to his countrymen. He holds his commission freer from pledges or obligations, except to the people, than any of his predecessors. The popular majority, rising nearly a million and a half above the high-water mark of McKinley's vote, is his charter and guide for the next four years. But it is also an approval of the continuance of Republican policies and the maintenance of Republican principles. This election teaches the thoughtfulness and independence of the people. It is no accident which gives this phenomenal majority to Roosevelt; it is no accident which elects in Minnesota a Democratic Governor, while giving a tremendous and unprecedented majority to Roosevelt; it is no accident by which a Democratic Governor is elected in Massachusetts by almost the same majority as Roosevelt receives; it is an admonition and a warning to the party in power. The new Governor of Massachusetts, in a State which has been Republican so long, will have an enormous patronage. I understand that the Democratic applicants are by thousands preparing themselves to receive his favor and all are limping with corns from wearing and breaking in the Douglas three dollar shoes.

Now, my friends, what of the future? If there were any criticism or blame because of the Philippines, we could claim that the treaty which acquired the islands was ratified by the votes of fifteen Democratic Senators. If there were any blame or criticism because of Panama, we could claim that the treaty with the young Republic was ratified by the votes of fifteen Democratic

Senators. But for the next four years the responsibilities of the Government are wholly ours. There is happiness in the electorate more general than ever before both among the victors and the vanquished. The workingman will retain his job and wages, the employer will have his factories running, his mills going, his furnaces in blast, his mines open, with a future rich in orders and markets. The farmer will sell his harvests with satisfactory returns and pay off his mortgage or add to his capital. We lack a healthy opposition and a vigorous and critical minority. Pride and arrogance in our victory would lead to our overthrow. We must be our own opposition, our own minority and our own critics. The Republican Party stands for liberty and discussion, but we must avoid strife within the party and work together for the interests of the party as for the best interests of good government for the country and for our State. We must study the currents of popular opinion as never before and be alert, vigilant and wise in promoting policies which will continue prosperity. Upon the ruins or the disintegration of the Democratic Party may arise an organization built up by able and resourceful agitators whose appeal will be to discontent. It must be our task to see that there shall be a minimum of discontent and a maximum of satisfaction and hope. We must take hold of questions of tariff and reciprocity with a firm hand. Recognizing what the protective system has done, is doing and must do for our country, we must remember that it not a fetich, but its friends in their wisdom must adjust it from time to time to the needs of the hour.

The announcement by President Roosevelt that John Hay is to be Secretary of State for the next four years keeps our foreign policy upon the lofty plane which has secured for us the respect of all nations and done so much for the peace of the world and for the entrance of our products and people upon equal terms into the markets of the globe.

President Roosevelt's frank and statesmanlike utterance that he will not be a candidate for re-election clears the political skies in our domestic legislation and administration and gives to us a great President free to exercise an independent and courageous judgment for great policies, for progress and development at home and that ideal position in foreign affairs where, without entangling alliances, the United States is a factor to be consulted and heeded in the interests of humanity and civilization.

MY ELEVEN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

MY ELEVEN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS, EPISODES AND INCIDENTS OF THE NATIONAL CANVASSES OF LINCOLN, GRANT, HAYES, GARFIELD, CLEVELAND, HARRISON, MC KINLEY, AND ROOSEVELT, NEW YORK HERALD, MAY 14, 1908.

To the first National Convention I ever attended I went as delegate at the second nomination of President Lincoln. I was a very young man then and Secretary of State of New York. A few of us who were devoted adherents of Governor Seward went to Washington on the way to Baltimore to consult with him. Lincoln's nomination was assured. The only question was who should be Vice-president. There was a general consensus of opinion that it should be Daniel S. Dickinson. He had been a lifelong Democrat, but supported Mr. Lincoln throughout the war.

This little incident is unwritten history and shows what incidents make history. Mr. Seward advised against the nomination of Mr. Dickinson on the ground that we ought to encourage the loyal men in the Border States who had risked their fortunes and their lives in standing by the Union. The most eminent representative of that class at that time was Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, who had kept all Tennessee loyal and was the moving spirit which had contributed many Tennessee regiments to the Union Army. He stood as a courageous, aggressive leader of that sentiment in all the Border States.

When Judge Robertson and I reached the convention we found the matter settled for Mr. Dickinson. We then began the missionary work imposed on us by Secretary Seward. The Connecticut delegation, headed by Governor Miner, immediately joined us. The matter was finally left by the convention to the New York delegation, and the nomination of Johnson was decided by one vote in that delegation. The convention accepted this conclusion, and the rest of the story, including Johnson's Presidency, is well known.

The nomination of General Grant, both the first and second times, was by acclamation, and there was no contest.

There was a terrific struggle for the succession to General Grant. New York presented Roscoe Conkling, and that presentation prevented the nomination of James G. Blaine. There had been a bitter feeling between Mr. Conkling and Mr. Blaine. Mr. Conkling would not consent to Mr. Blaine's nomination. Finally Mr. Hayes of Ohio, a man then unknown to the country, became the candidate of an evolution and not a revolution.

Samuel J. Tilden performed a great and hardly recognized service in that election. The Democrats believed, as did a vast number of Republicans, that he was honestly elected. We were close to the Civil War, and the participants on both sides were still vigorous enough to make a revolution easy upon a question like that of the deprivation by any process of a candidate who was believed to be elected to his office. Of course it is a moot question because it was decided by the tribunal by only a majority of one.

But it is due to Mr. Tilden to say that all his power and influence were used to prevent his followers from doing what many of the ablest and strongest advocated—seizing the Presidency or attempting it. It was mainly through Mr. Tilden that the tribunal was selected and its judgment acquiesced in.

In the canvass of 1880 Grant was brought before the convention as a candidate, and the whole question of the third term became exigent. In the tactical management the nomination of General Grant depended on whether the unit rule was to prevail. There was a majority for him in enough States to nominate him if the unit rule carried both the majority and the minority, but there were enough delegates to defeat him. The contest over this one question lasted for several days. When the unit rule was beaten the convention was at sea.

John Sherman was the most prominent and promising of the candidates, and his campaign was led by James A. Garfield. Garfield's speech for Sherman captured the convention and nominated the speaker for the Presidency. Arthur was put on as Vice-president to placate Mr. Conkling and satisfy the New York delegation, he being the leader of the Grant forces.

In the campaign of 1884 Blaine easily carried the convention against Arthur. Against his own wish and advice, he was

brought to New York to meet a thousand Protestant clergymen. The Rev. Dr. Burchard's unfortunate use of a phrase, that had done good service with him in a hundred sermons in his own church, on a political occasion naturally offended a large body of religionists who otherwise sympathized warmly with Mr. Blaine. That unfortunate phrase alienated thousands of their votes. He lost New York by less than 2,000, and except for those three words of the Rev. Dr. Burchard he would have carried it by 20,000 and have been President of the United States.

In the convention of 1888 New York State presented me as its candidate. Support from other States ran my vote up to ninety-nine. At that time there was a bitter anti-railway agitation in most of the Western States, and I was president of the New York Central Railroad. I became convinced that, while I might possibly be nominated, because there was no hope of election without New York, my duty to the party demanded I should retire. We of New York then transferred our vote to General Harrison, who was receiving about nineteen votes. This led to his nomination. It was the unexpected, as no one thought Harrison stood any chance. But the support of New York was potential.

In 1892, at the request of President Harrison, I led his forces at Minneapolis. Of course for the hard work and general machinery I had the support of some of the ablest men in the United States, but against Harrison was a combination of leaders which had rarely if ever been beaten. The following is an incident illustrating how much sentiment governs in popular bodies. I deemed it wise to call a meeting of the supporters of Harrison and have a show of hands. As each State was called a delegate would arise and say how many votes could be expected from that State. This was not entirely reliable, as the delegate often announced his hopes rather than the facts. As the meeting was hastily called there was no roll call of those present. The canvass made by this announcement showed a majority of about fifty for Harrison. In announcing, as chairman of the meeting, the vote I added, "And though the notice has not been generally made there are present in this hall three more than a majority." This was a pure guess. It was disputed. I emphatically restated it, seized the cane of an old gentleman who stood alongside of me and rapped it on the table with such violence that it broke in several pieces, and the meeting adjourned. The cane

was a valuable memento which had been given to this gentleman, and he picked up the pieces in no very good humor. He afterward, however, had them put together and placed in a glass case in his library with the inscription, "The cane which re-nominated General Harrison."

The result of our meeting spread like wild fire all over the city and among the delegates. The decisive part of the report was that there was more than a majority present in the hall. A very extraordinary incident which emphasized this statement, which was a guess, occurred the next day. I demanded a roll call on a proposition for the purpose of demonstrating whether the battle was won or lost. On that roll call the exact number which I had given as being present in the hall answered on our side. I do not think, in the doctrine of chances, such a confirmation ever occurred before.

In the convention of 1896 the superb generalship and wonderful campaign conducted by Mark Hanna for McKinley made him the choice of the convention without a struggle, while in 1900 the convention was simply a ratification meeting for McKinley's second term.

The convention at Chicago which has just nominated Roosevelt and Fairbanks is so recent that every one is familiar with both its action and spirit. It being the fifth in succession which I have attended as delegate at large from the State of New York, a comparison with the others was natural.

Every convention has its individualities and peculiarities. Some have a favorite who overtops everybody and almost the convention proceedings and its candidates. Colonel Ingersoll held that position in 1884 because of his marvelous eloquence in the speech by which he nominated Blaine, and which produced unparalleled enthusiasm in the convention and throughout the country.

The convention of 1904 was more of a deliberative body than any which preceded. It had little of the tumultuous effervescence of the campaign gathering. There was an extraordinary number of strong men from all parts of the country. The preservation of the present industrial conditions and the fear of the results which would happen from a defeat of Republican candidates and policies had a sobering effect. There was an intense interest in the platform. But the one dominant and pervading spirit

among these representative men was confidence in Roosevelt and in his popularity. It was felt that, more than platforms or declarations, Roosevelt would be the issue of the campaign. By placing Senator Fairbanks on the ticket as Vice-president the convention selected one of the ablest lawyers in the country, one of the most level headed, cautious and conservative men in the country, as a running mate. The spirit of the convention was a determination to win and confidence of success.

I first saw Mr. Lincoln when he passed through Peekskill on his way to Washington to be inaugurated. His speech was so short that it conveyed no idea of the man—a very homely, very awkward man—he having time to utter but a few sentences. I was elected Secretary of State in 1863. Horatio Seymour had been elected Governor in 1862. In the gathering of the soldiers' vote for 1864, Mr. Lincoln's second election, in every State but New York the machinery was given to the Governor. The New York Legislature, however, of 1864 was overwhelmingly Republican, and it would not give it to the Democratic Governor.

In the effort to get the machinery I spent the winter in Washington and saw Mr. Lincoln very often. He had the habit at a certain hour of leaving the door open for anybody to come in. Then he would be overwhelmed by the mothers, wives and sisters of soldiers who were in hospitals and whom they wanted to reach or those who had been condemned as deserters and whom they wanted reprieved.

I witnessed in these meetings the most pathetic scenes of my life. Mr. Lincoln looked up one day in the crowd and said:

"Hello, Depew! What do you want?"

I said, "Nothing, Mr. President, except to pay my respects to you, as I am going home."

Mr. Lincoln replied: "It is a luxury to see some one who does not want anything. If you will stay I will get rid of these people: I want to talk with you."

When the room was clear he threw himself on the sofa, pulled up his long legs, clasped his knees with his hands and, rocking backward and forward for a long time, freely discussed the war. He told eleven stories illustrating his ideas. With one exception these stories were not parlor stories, but they were immensely effective in either illustrating or clinching or striking home the point he was making.

Mr. Lincoln was the most direct and lucid talker I ever met. He had then been President nearly four years and had more thoroughly mastered than any of the tried statesmen of the country, the home and foreign situation, the complications with other governments, the dangers of intervention, the situation of the Army and of the treasury and the needs of both.

I have had more or less intimacy with all the Presidents since his time and most of the Cabinet members. No public man ever knew so instinctively and intimately just what the people wanted. If they had not yet expressed it in any form he knew what would meet their approval. Mr. Lincoln was the saddest man I ever knew, because he was the most tender hearted and sympathetic, and yet he felt that to save his country he had to sacrifice the lives of tens of thousands who would have to be recruited or sent to the front to be sacrificed by his order. It seemed to press upon him and to weigh upon him with a load that he could not shake off.

His one absorbing thought, relieved only by this story telling, was that he must save the Union, and that it could only be saved by eliminating slavery.

He had a peculiar cadence in his voice, which made his sentence rhythmic. One who reads that gem of American orations, his speech at Gettysburg (it was improvised), will get an idea of his style—that of an unconscious poem. Mr. Lincoln was a man of marvelous genius and singular power of expression. He had upon him the weight of the future and its possibilities to his country. He talked of the criticisms on his story telling, which used to amuse Seward and offend the dignified Chase.

With this singular cadence he said, I remember: "They say I tell a great many stories. I reckon I do, but I have found in the course of a long and varied experience that the plain people," then repeating with great emphasis, "'the plain people,' take them as they run, are more easily influenced by a broad and humorous illustration than in any other way. What the hyper-critical few may think I do not care."

I think it generally admitted now that the greatest misfortune which happened to the South was his assassination. He was the one man who had the hold upon the country and the power to accomplish what was done twelve years afterward under Hayes. He would have reconstructed the South without

a carpetbagging government or any of the horrors and mistakes of the reconstruction period, because the North, the Union Army and the loyal people would have absolutely trusted his judgment as they did his patriotism, and the question of the two sections would have been settled by him, free from many of the difficulties which affect us still.

The methods of campaigning before the war, during the war, and for several canvasses afterward were different from those we have now. The press was not nearly so universal or powerful. The political speaker, though, was more universal and more powerful.

There was no possibility of organizing such complete campaigns as was done by Mr. Hanna. Money did not exist in the country to create a machinery of literature, of speakers, of colporteurs, of military companies, of organizations of every kind, which were the educational processes of the last three or four canvasses.

The series of speeches which Mr. Seward, after being defeated at Chicago, made for Lincoln, almost unequaled in their versatility and frequency, were the feature of Lincoln's first campaign, and their influence was incalculable. There has been nothing in the canvasses of the last twenty years which was one man's oratory that could be so effective.

The newspapers in the early campaigns had an idol, and they made of that idol a fetich or a god for their readers. That was done for Henry Clay. It was done in conspicuous instances for Daniel Webster, Mr. Buchanan, and others.

In the last quarter of a century no newspaper of national importance has had one man occupying the place of honor in its columns every day. Public men in the last twenty-five years, like Garfield, McKinley, Cleveland or Roosevelt, are subjects of abuse, but not of the indiscriminate daily laudation and indiscriminate praise, as was the case in the old canvasses.

Regarding the part being taken by women in the modern campaign, women ought to be as much interested in politics as men and should be as well informed. Voters who have arrived at twenty-one years of age since the last presidential canvass will be more influenced by the intelligent advice of their mothers than by any other consideration.

Women ought to be Republicans, because the Republican

Party stands for certainty in its platform and candidate. There is no Republican who could not tell accurately what would be the platform adopted by the Republican convention, and it will be agreed to by every Republican, North, South, East and West. There is no Republican who could not tell who the candidate would be. But there is no Democrat who could tell whether his convention would indorse Bryan or Cleveland, taking them as the types of the Democratic platform of 1896 and of 1900 on the one hand and of the "return to sanity" Democrats on the other.

Now, women love certainty. A woman has never any doubt as to the principles of the church to which she is attached or of the man whom she loves. When she is in doubt and sailing on the sea of uncertainty in the wrecked ship of faith she is the most unhappy creature in the world. In this canvass, however, on the one side she has certainty; on the other side she is sailing in a ship without a rudder or compass for an unknown shore.

What the Democratic candidate was to be is like the verdict of the petit jury, which a distinguished jurist said was the only thing that divine prescience could not foretell. He must be a man who can prove his regularity by affidavits that he voted for Bryan in 1896 and 1900 and can satisfy the country that he repudiates the principles for which Bryan stood.

On the other hand there never was a candidate for President who so completely meets a woman's ideal of a man, a public official, as Theodore Roosevelt. His manliness, his courage, his unconventional ways of conducting government, his preference for a knife to cut the Gordian knot instead of the tedious process of untying it, his directness, his transparent honesty, his truthfulness and his lack of those elements which make a Machiavelli meet every requirement of a woman's candidate for the President of the United States.

We are a strong people, masterful, aggressive, self-confident. We are a world power for the first time in presidential elections. We need a masterful, strong, self-reliant and absolutely honest man for President, a man who dares do things which are closely criticised in their inception and action and receive crowning praise when the results come about; a man who does not stop to feel that the problem of the ages, like the construction of the Panama Canal, which is to unite the two oceans and meet all the dreams of American diplomacy and statesmanship for generations, is

to be balked by scheming dictators, but when Panama reasserts its independence and proclaims itself a republic, before anybody else has seen the point, discovers that there is a power to treat with, and does it.

Mr. Roosevelt is charged with violating the Constitution in assumptions of executive authority and with being dangerous to the liberties of the people because of his autocratic temper, but the country hails with delight two facts, one that when there was fighting to do he ran a hundred feet ahead of his regiment up San Juan hill and scared the Spaniards out of their trenches, and the other that when there was a canal to be dug he solved in sixty days the problem of four hundred years, and while a French ship was carrying millions of gold to pay the French canal company an American ship was carrying dredging machines and spades to the isthmus of Panama.

It is common enough to find men forging their way to the front in business or public life when they have the temper, the mind and the spur of necessity behind him. But when a man, born in the lap of luxury and subject to the temptations of the boy born to wealth and its surroundings, its clubs and seductions in the city of New York, breaks out and beats the cowboy and the rancher in their own territory, the miner in his own field, the politician on his own platform and the officeholder in his own sphere, and has always, in every vocation and relation and position in which he has been placed, easily been the first by the common consent of his associates, whether they be men of action or brains, and in his forties has become President of the United States by a tragedy and in the Presidency has met so gloriously the needs of the country and the hopes of the people, such a man is entitled to the chief magistracy by the votes of his fellow citizens.

THE AMEN CORNER

SPEECH AT THE AMEN CORNER¹ ON THE CLOSING OF THE FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, NEW YORK, APRIL 4, 1908.

MY FRIENDS: We all feel sad at the destruction of this ancient land-mark. It has no great antiquity compared with Old World castles with centuries of traditions, but within its walls has been made as much of American history as in any other comparatively modern structure in the United States. It is not distinguished for any one event, but a series, running through half a century. It was opened when all above Twenty-third Street was still largely farming lands and goat pastures. Now the same territory is occupied by the residences of more than two millions of people. This hotel early attracted the men who do things in public life. During the Civil War, in this corridor met and upon this Amen Corner bench sat those generals and admirals who are the inspiration of our Army and Navy. I have been a frequent visitor here for more than forty years. I have met here Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and other officers of the Army and Navy, Presidents Garfield, Harrison and McKinley, also Blaine and John Sherman, and Senators, Congressmen, Governors, and party leaders, who found rest, comfortable hospitality and congenial companionship in this old hotel. This plush-covered bench was happily so located that those sitting upon it commanded a view of the passing throng always surging through these wide corridors. There has been no time in forty-five years when a guest or visitor could not from here meet people worth meeting and see celebrities worth seeing. This hotel became early the headquarters of the Republican Party. During the leadership of Conkling and while President Arthur and Governor Cornell were chairmen of the State Committees, here were the activities of the party, and upon this bench statesmen who were interested in the politics of New York from all over the country

¹The Amen Corner consisted of two sofas at the end of the broad corridor of the Fifth Avenue Hotel, upon which statesmen, soldiers, politicians and reporters had sat and gossiped for half a century.—*Ed.*

gathered for news, advice, and assistance. During the quarter of a century of the leadership of Senator Thomas C. Platt more men in the State and Nation who amounted to much consulted with him in this corner than in any other place. Here were made Governors, State Senators, and Assemblymen, Supreme Court Judges, Judges of the Court of Appeals, and Members of Congress. Governors thought the capital was at Albany, but really took their inspiration and the suggestions for their policies from the Amen Corner. State Conventions would meet at Rochester, Syracuse, or Saratoga, but the eight hundred members would wait before acting to know what had been decided upon in the Amen Corner. Chairmen of the State Committees would sit here looking wise and conveying the impression to the newspaper men who surrounded them that they possessed knowledge of party nominations and party platforms that were to be, but their wise looks were a mask to conceal opinions which they did not possess until they had heard from the Easy Boss whom we welcome—our friend, everybody's friend, Senator Platt.

Memory goes back to the time when Chester A. Arthur was chairman of the State Committee. He was a most genial and delightful gentleman and became one of the most attractive of the Presidents of United States. He was Senator Conkling's closest adviser and his representative in the practical management of party affairs. After him Governor A. B. Cornell assumed the position. He was the reverse of Arthur. The one was a man of rare social graces, and the other a cold, self-contained, and masterful manager. He went from the Amen Corner to the Executive Mansion at Albany, and after an interval in succession the chair was occupied by Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., and he too, after exhibiting all the best qualities of a political organizer, went from the Amen Corner to be Governor of the State of New York. With the accession of Lieutenant-governor Woodruff to the chairmanship, the State Committee secured a home in a house by itself. Some time before this Senator Platt had moved from this hotel which had been his permanent residence for nearly a quarter of a century. The traditions of this historic corner will owe their preservation to the formation of an association of newspaper men organized by Mr. Edward G. Riggs, Mr. Charles P. Norcross, Mr. Louis Siebold, and other newspaper men and which is destined to live and thrive like the

Gridiron Club at Washington as long as journalists are original, witty, audacious, and enterprising and have at their command the best talent in literature and art and statesmen of the highest positions in the National Government and in the State, and that will be as long as time endures.

Senator Conkling was accustomed to come here before each campaign and arrange with Arthur or Cornell for the ticket and the platform of the State Convention, and after the convention to advise in regard to the conduct of the canvass on the stump. He was one of the most powerful of platform orators, but when the financial question, caused by the resumption of specie payments, became an issue he had to study problems to which he had never given attention. That issue took from the stump nearly all of our old-time orators. Arthur loaded the Senator with literature, and after a few weeks, I remember, the Senator returned and threw the pamphlets, documents, and volumes angrily upon the table and said, "I will discuss old matters, and not take up an intricate question like this which the people will never understand."

When Garfield was nominated for President in 1880, defeating the third term effort for General Grant, Arthur was made Vice-president. Though Vice-president, he still continued to conduct the campaign from this hotel, and this corner, as chairman of the State Committee. Senator Conkling was so angry that for some weeks he refused to take any part in the canvass. His support was necessary to carry the State of New York. He was angry at Arthur for taking the Vice-presidency. Arthur finally secured what he thought was consent from Conkling to meet General Garfield here. Garfield came on. This corridor was crowded as it is to-day. Upon the stairs yonder and on this Amen Corner bench the people were standing, and as Garfield, who was a magnificent looking specimen of humanity, entered the door he was received with rousing cheers. Then everybody remained expectant for the interview which was to bring these antagonists into friendly relations, but Mr. Conkling, for some reason never explained, left the hotel by another way as Garfield came in at the front. Though the Senator ultimately took the stump and did brave work, the two men continued estranged. After the election of Garfield came the quarrel with Conkling over New York patronage and his resignation from the Senate.

In the heat and passions of the controversy between these antagonists the pistol of Guiteau assassinated the President. Who can tell if that tragedy did not begin in the dramatic scene witnessed from this Amen Corner?

I remember when Blaine came here, while the Republican candidate for President, to receive the address of a thousand Protestant ministers. The spokesman for the clergymen was the Reverend Doctor Burchard. He had a favorite phrase which he had used in many a sermon. It was linking together "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." The alliteration and his antagonisms made the sentence his choicest expression. That speech defeated Mr. Blaine. The Catholics naturally resented that Mr. Blaine did not repudiate it on the spot. The next day I went with Mr. Blaine in his stumping tour through New England. As we rode through the streets of the New England towns our carriage was littered with dodgers, having this phrase upon it, thrown from the house-tops, and the air was white as if we were in a succession of snow storms. Mr. Blaine said to me that he had been detained in his room upstairs until he was notified that the clergymen were in the corridor. He had prepared no speech. He said he did not hear a word Dr. Burchard said, but was only anxious for the clergyman to continue until he could gather his thoughts for the proper answer. His speech was a reply not to what he heard but to what he thought Dr. Burchard would necessarily say. It was not until night, when the newspaper men gathered about him, and the politicians came in frightened, that he became aware of the blunder, and no one appreciated better than Mr. Blaine that it was then too late to remedy the misfortune.

I remember also Mr. Cleveland when President was reviewing from the balcony of this hotel a procession coming up Fifth Avenue, commemorating some famous event. Near him was the beautiful woman who soon after became his wife. It was rumored in the press that morning that the engagement had taken place and would soon be announced. Each of the bands were under instructions as they passed in review to play the National Anthem, but the Seventh Regiment band, at that time one of the best in the United States, were suddenly inspired and as they came in front of the President and his future bride they played the air, which was then in all the music halls and all the

hand-organs and upon every piano in the country, "He is going to marry Yum Yum. He is going to marry Yum Yum."

But, gentlemen, a volume could be filled with the reminiscences of this old spot. Stories could be told endlessly of Grant, Blaine, Conkling, and Arthur as each of them sat with his friends upon this old sofa in this old Amen Corner. It received this name because when Senator Platt, during his long leadership, after a conference with party leaders from all over the State, would announce the conclusion at which he had arrived as to nominations, policies, and platforms, there never was any dissent, but the waiting magnates sitting upon this sofa would all say "Amen." What Fraunce's Tavern with its one incident of the farewell of Washington to his officers is to a historic event in the Revolution, this old hotel and its Amen Corner is to the long succession of Presidents and Governors who here made history for nearly half a century. It is unfortunate that in the growth of the city this Mecca becomes too valuable to be preserved. I think if I had a millionth part of the fortune which was ascribed to me in a recent speech by an eloquent Senator in the United States Senate, I would devote part of the income of it to keeping this hotel forever in the memory of the Amen Corner.

TAFT AND HUGHES MEETING

SPEECH AT THE TAFT AND HUGHES MEETING IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 26, 1908.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When Darwin first published his theory of evolution it created universal consternation. Scientists disputed its accuracy and theologians thought it an insidiously dangerous attack upon the creation of Adam and Eve and the experiences of the Garden of Eden. But in time the doubt of the scientists and the fears of the theologians have been dissipated and evolution is universally recognized as one of the great discoveries of the age. This theory of progress and growth has no better illustration than in the relations of the statesmanship of the Republican Party to the history of the expansion, development and power of our country. We were defeated in 1856 and successful in 1860 upon a basis so broad to us now that it is impossible for the present generation to conceive how the country could have been divided on it. That was the extension of slavery into that vast region out of which have grown half a dozen great and prosperous States. Mr. Lincoln had declared in the canvass that no country could exist half slave and half free, and Mr. Seward, the National Republican leader, had appealed to a higher law than the Constitution and congressional enactments. All this meant practically that we were not really a nation. Europe did not fear us, nor did the great powers of the world take us into consideration in their territorial and commercial aggrandizement. The first necessity for the future of the American people was to have a country. Under the conditions then existing industrial advance was checked by fratricidal strife. Mr. Lincoln represented the national idea, and it won at the expense of a half million of lives and a million disabled, but it was worth the sacrifice. Mr. Lincoln evolved himself, and carried the country and his party with him, to the idea that there could be no nation unless slavery was destroyed, and he signed the Proclamation of Emancipation. With the outcome of the Spanish War, where the blue and the gray fought side by side

under the old flag; with the acquisition of the Philippines, Hawaii and Cuba under McKinley, which made us a factor to be reckoned with in the Pacific Ocean and the Orient; with the devolution of government upon the natives in the Philippines, the pacification of Cuba, the settlement of the Venezuelan and Dominican controversies and troubles with foreign nations and the peace between Russia and Japan, brought about by Roosevelt, the United States as a nation became one of the great powers of the world. So much for the evolution of our nationality.

It was clear to the Republican statesmen that in creating a nation by placing the Union upon impregnable foundations they must provide policies to make the people prosperous. Our resources must be developed, our manufactures encouraged, cheap transportation provided for the settlement of our territories and the different sections industrially welded together by internal commerce and exchanges. We were importing from Europe a large proportion of the necessities of life and most of the luxuries. The necessity was to gain and to hold the home market. This created a tariff policy upon the lines of protection for American industries first and revenue after. Its design was to enable American workingmen at higher wages to compete with European workingmen with low wages. The founders of the new Republic recognized that a nation resting upon the people and its government existing by universal suffrage was impossible unless constituencies could live under conditions much more favorable than those which prevailed on the other side of the Atlantic. The first feature of the Tariff Bill of 1891 was to encourage capital to go into new enterprises and to stimulate industries in every department of manufacture. The second feature was to put the American workingman in a position to earn wages several times greater than received by his competitors in other lands. Under this Republican policy our industries advanced by leaps and bounds until checked in 1893 by the Wilson-Gorman Democratic Tariff Bill. But progress was resumed after the Dingley Tariff Bill passed in 1897. Nineteen hundred and seven witnessed a marvel in industrial evolution, in forty years our country having advanced from the lowest to the first place in manufacture, in agriculture and in mining and also in that barometer of the industrial activity and prosperity of nations, the production of iron and steel.

But these founders of the new Republic also recognized that trade, commerce and employment could not be regular and permanent without sound finance. The irredeemable greenback was a device to carry on successfully the Civil War. It became almost a fetich, and at one time there was nearly as much regard for it as there was for the national flag. It required a terrific struggle for sound economic principles to triumph over a sentiment so closely allied to patriotism. But fiat money and an irredeemable currency was defeated in 1873 under the leadership of John Sherman; the resumption of specie payments was brought about in 1879, and in 1896 the people, rudely awakened by what they had suffered and the perils which were before them from the free-silver craze, voted for the gold standard and the placing of the United States in accord with the highly developed nations of the world under the leadership of William McKinley.

In this brief retrospect we have the birth of a new nation and its evolution under the master minds of the Republican Party to a position of prosperity within its borders and peace without, of power among nations and of industrial and financial standing which makes us to-day foremost among nations.

The Republican Party is now on trial. It cannot rely upon these mighty achievements—national, industrial and financial—for success. Each administration has had its problems, and the one which is going out must satisfy voters that it should be succeeded by an administration in harmony with its achievements and its policies. In other words, Theodore Roosevelt and his administration are now to be judged. In the long line of Republican administrations commencing with Lincoln none has been more fruitful in measures for the protection and advancement of the people and in power and glory for the United States. As the public lands are exhausted for the homesteader the Republican administration has inaugurated a system for the reclamation of the deserts. Already a territory two-thirds as large as the State of New York has been won from the sage brush and the rattlesnake and given to the American farmer under a policy by which the money for the lands sold goes back into the reclamation service. This great rescue from worthlessness to productiveness has not cost the United States a dollar. It is an old proverb that the man who makes two blades of grass to grow where only one did before is a benefactor of his time. But the

Republican Party in bringing about by its policies this marvelous creation of national wealth and individual prosperity easily occupies the front rank among political organizations of any country. We have still arid lands six times greater than the State of New York, most of which under this beneficent system will be reclaimed from the wilderness and made into happy homes.

No class or condition has reaped more benefit during the Roosevelt administration than the farmer. Recognizing that individual resources are insufficient to meet the recurring necessities and perils of agriculture, the question has been wisely taken up by the Government. With the greatest scientific skill it has successfully fought the San José scale which was ruining the orchards; it is conquering the boll weevil which threatened to destroy the cotton; it has taught the people how to cheaply turn almost impassable highways into good roads, thereby doubling the value of the farms, and by scientific testing of the quality of soils it has brought abandoned farms into profitable production and enormously increased the value of agricultural products. Under a system wisely inaugurated, by rural free delivery the isolation of the farmer has been relieved. In ten years these routes have been extended forty thousand miles, reaching sixteen millions of people. Rural communities are no longer bound by the narrow limits of the neighborhood. They are in daily touch with the markets of this and other countries, with the daily happenings of the world and with the politics and the policies of statesmen and politicians. Secretary Wilson says that the new wealth from lands this year will reach the prodigious amount of eight billions of dollars.

Labor has gained more in these seven years than in any preceding generation. The Eight Hour Law which had become a dead letter on Government contract work has been vigorously enforced. Prison labor which is in competition with free labor has been prohibited. Chinese Coolie immigration has been suppressed. Liberal laws have been enacted for the protection of seamen. Safety appliances on railroads have been made compulsory. Formerly when Government employees were injured or killed there was no redress for them or their families, but this year Congress passed a Government liability law. One of the most perfect of child-labor laws has been enacted for the District of Columbia. A bill freeing employees engaged in interstate

commerce from the rigid requirements of the common law, under which it was almost impossible to recover damages, became a law three years ago. The Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional, and this last session Congress re-enacted it so framed as to meet the objections of the court, but embodying all its beneficent provisions for workingmen. Democrats have resolved and adopted platforms on these vital subjects, but when in power, with a President and a large majority in both houses of Congress during Cleveland's administration, crystallized none of them into law.

The balance of trade in our favor during this administration reaches now the sum of nearly two thousand millions of dollars. It makes other nations our debtors and insures permanency to our finances and solvency to our industrial life. Figures are always dry, but these hundreds of millions of the balance of trade in our favor, the thirteen billions of deposits in our banks, of which three and a half billions are in our savings banks, which have nearly nine millions of depositors, tell beyond words of general prosperity and individual thrift and happiness. They are not accidents, but the result of wise and efficient government.

The development of our resources and acceleration of our productions from the election of McKinley in 1896 to 1907 created an era of speculation and overtrading. It also caused many conditions which required correction. Mr. Bryan says we had a Democratic panic and we have also had a Republican panic. But the Republican panic lasted three months and the Democratic panic lasted forty-eight months. The Democratic panic came in with the Democratic administration and its effects lasted for a year after that administration went out of power. The Republican panic began in October and was over on the first of January. The Democratic panic kept three millions of men out of employment for three years, established soup houses everywhere and carried Coxey's Army to Washington. The panic of 1907 did not last long enough to exhaust the savings in the savings banks of those who had been thrifty and frugal. Now the savings banks report that they have received back again from reviving business all that they lost in necessary withdrawals during the brief industrial panic. But the Roosevelt administration has met successfully the dangers threatened by the creation of trusts and great corporations because of phenomenal prosperity. The

problem was how to minimize these perils without stopping progress, how to prevent disaster without checking development, how to prevent illegitimate employment of capital without so frightening investors that capital and labor would both be injured. The manner in which the Roosevelt administration has handled these problems will be an era in the history of American industry, and it is a cause for congratulation that these policies will be completed by a candidate so sound, so judicial, so able and so experienced as William H. Taft.

The policies advocated by Taft and those advocated by Bryan are regulation on the one hand and ruin on the other. I have always believed that the safety of both the stockholders and bondholders of the railroads lay in the closest governmental supervision. I think I can fairly claim credit for the creation of the first railroad commission in the State of New York. Railroad commissions with sufficient power place in the hands of a judicial body these acute railway problems for solution. We must look at the matter without prejudice because the prosperity of the whole country is involved in the manner in which the railway problem is adjusted. We must remember that one million, six hundred and seventy-five thousand voters of the United States are on the pay-rolls of the railroads and one billion, seventy-five millions a year is paid them in wages. We must remember that the wages and employment of two millions more, who are engaged in digging the coal, cutting the ties and manufacturing the rails, locomotives and other supplies, and the merchants who sell the necessaries of life to the families of these railway men, are also dependent upon railway prosperity. Railway commissions, whether State or national, can hear the complaints of the shippers and localities, can hear the defense of the railways, and then, appointed by the people and acting for the people, and the whole people, can justly decide.

I will not now discuss the question of Government ownership of railroads and the far-reaching effects of such a policy upon our civil service and the efficiency of our transportation system. While Mr. Bryan says that matter can wait awhile, it is well known that he never gives up a pet theory, but keeps it in reserve to try as soon as possible. It is a question of vital importance to the hundred thousand railway employees in this State. Under the rules controlling Government employees, they are prohibited

from having unions to raise wages or from appealing to Congress for that purpose under pain of instant dismissal. Undoubtedly under Government ownership the different unions of railway men, like the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, of Locomotive Firemen, of Conductors, of Trainmen and of Switchmen, which are the best of labor organizations, would be instantly dissolved. The pay, in countries where Government ownership exists, to railway employees in every grade is about one-third what it is in the United States. A strike of Government employees is a crime, but lawful under corporation ownership by a decision rendered by Judge Taft. One other view: The taxes and assessments paid by the railroads in the State of New York amount annually to \$5,500,000. In the towns through which the railways run the railways are always the largest taxpayers. This amount locally relieves to a large extent the taxes of the farmers and builds the highways and school houses. The Government pays no taxes upon its property, and therefore what is now paid by the railroads in the different villages and cities would, under Government ownership, be assessed upon the houses and lands of the people.

One of the most beneficent acts of legislation were railway bills prohibiting rebates and discriminations. I do not believe that there is a railway manager in the country who is not thankful to have rebates and discriminations prohibited.

Under President Harrison the Sherman Anti-trust Bill was passed for the purpose of curbing corporations and the prevention of monopolies. It was not in operation during Cleveland's administration. Since the pathway for its operation was cleared by a brilliant decision in the Circuit Court of Appeals by Judge Taft it has been an efficient weapon for the curbing of trusts and the prevention of monopolies, and was so used by McKinley and Roosevelt.

The panic came when the country was never so prosperous, business never so good, employment never so universal and wages never so high. It was due to lack of confidence and sudden distrust. The failure of a great trust company in New York precipitated it. It was evident to everybody that unless the panic was stopped immediately in New York it would spread over the country and close most of the banks, national, State and savings, in the land, and stop a majority of the industries and

throw multitudes out of employment. The Government had over two hundred millions in the Treasury which could be used. Now what was the Bryan and Democratic proposition? It was to distribute this money in the banks all over the country when most of the country banks had nearly twice the reserves required for solvency. But Roosevelt and Cortelyou, regardless of this clamor, put the money where the trouble was and saved the situation and the country. The Democratic idea was when there is a fire to order the fire department to distribute the water in the wards and districts all over town, giving to the flames only the proportion belonging to that section. Under such procedure the water would be widely distributed and so would the fire.

Mr. Bryan makes it clear to us what he proposes to carry out if elected. First, and most important, he will destroy the tariff and have a tariff for revenue only. We had the experience of this threat and its partial fulfillment in the Cleveland administration. The United States is the greatest market in the world. Our internal commerce is larger than that of all the rest of the world combined. The commerce of the world, exclusive of the United States, is in value \$20,000,000,000, while the internal commerce of the United States is \$27,000,000,000. A revenue tariff would make the United States the dumping ground of Europe and Japan. European nations would capture our market on the Atlantic seaboard, but the greatest danger would be from Japan. The Japanese have our skill, they have our machinery, they have the cheapest of labor, they have driven our merchant marine off the Pacific Ocean, and with the Japanese artisans working for twenty cents a day and living on rice and the subsidized merchant marine of Japan carrying their productions across the Pacific they could undersell us, especially on the Pacific. The repeal of the tariff would bring starvation to the doors of the artisans and mechanics of the United States. Mr. Bryan's next proposition is whenever a corporation has reached a point where it produces one-half the products in its line it shall immediately stop until the rest of the country catches up. He also proposes that when any manufacturing company reaches a point where its output consists of twenty-five per cent. of that article which is sold in this country it shall take out a federal license or shut up shop.

Thomas Jefferson furnished the Democratic Party and the

country with a doctrine which was the corner-stone of the Democratic faith. Mr. Bryan claims to be the disciple of Jefferson and the heir of his policies. The Jefferson declaration was "that government is best which governs least." We have in this country two hundred and seventeen thousand manufactories. The capital interested is twelve billions, seven hundred millions of dollars. The number of people employed are in round numbers six millions. The wages and salaries paid are in round numbers three billions of dollars. The product is fifteen billions a year. These manufactories are the industries and sources for living of thousands of places scattered all over the United States. They are in competition with each other and with foreign concerns in the same line who in spite of the tariff are able to a certain extent to invade our markets. The Democratic platform and Mr. Bryan complain of the increase of officials under the Roosevelt administration, but the inspectors, accountants and bookkeepers necessary to find out when each of these multitudinous industries has reached twenty-five per cent. of its product and must take out a license, and when in bad times it has fallen below twenty-five per cent. and can drop the license, would surpass a plague of locusts. When the skill, enterprise and inventive genius of a manufacturer have given him largely the control of the market in his particular line without any monopolistic efforts other than skill, economy, industry and thrift, that manufacturer under this novel process must lay upon his oars until his patent expires or his trade-marks become worthless.

A friend of mine is a large manufacturer, producing many useful articles, among others buckles. Every human being in the United States uses buckles, and it is an important attachment to every harness and many kinds of machinery. A genius recently invented a buckle which can be manufactured and sold at one-third the price of buckles made in the old way, giving the company of my friend a monopoly for this article, while the public is getting it at much lower prices than ever before. Under Mr. Bryan's proposition, the buckle inspectors in Portland, Maine, Portland, Oregon, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco and New Orleans, and in every place where tailors, harness makers and dressmakers and householders are buying buckles, will be counting the output of this factory as compared with others to report in tabulated statements to the great ratio

bureau at Washington. Then will come to the buckle manufacturer a notice that he must take out a license and subject his books to monthly examination and inspection, so that the exact minute when his output of buckles reaches fifty per cent. of the whole buckle sale of the country he must shut down part of his machinery and discharge a proportionate number of his men. But as he is working under a patent which no one else can use, he will have to wait seventeen years until his patent expires before his product can comply with the fifty per cent. rule, and in the meantime the public will buy dear buckles. We are the keenest and shrewdest traders and the most inventive manufacturers in the world, and the people of the United States will never permit their energies and their industries to be buckled down by this policy. That strap won't work.

But we will leave the ratio proposition for the broader and more comprehensive statement of the Democratic candidate that "The people shall rule." We are every day receiving many proofs of the rule of the people. The primary election in New Jersey recently with its varied and unexpected results showed conclusively that the people ruled. The greatest majority ever given to a President was when seven million, six hundred and twenty-three thousand, four hundred and eighty-six voted for Mr. Roosevelt and five million, seventy-seven thousand, nine hundred and seventy-one voted for Judge Parker. This proved conclusively that the people ruled. In our State two years ago the people decided to elect a Republican Governor and all the rest of the State officers Democratic. They evidently wanted to try the experiment of one party watching the other in office. It was their judgment as exhibited by their votes that in this matter of watchfulness for the public good a Republican as Governor, in the person of Governor Hughes, was quite equal to a Democratic Lieutenant-governor, Secretary of State, Attorney-general, Comptroller, State Treasurer and State Engineer and Surveyor. In another form it was the old idea of the parity of values between gold and silver, only in this instance it was six to one. On election night in 1900 as the incoming returns indicated that Roosevelt's majority over Bryan was about a million a devoted admirer of Mr. Bryan telegraphed him: "The people are in a minority. God save our country."

When I was a student one of my tasks was to translate

Cæsar's commentaries. After sixty years all that I remember of them is that the great conqueror wrote, "Gaul is divided into three parts." Certainly the gall of Mr. Bryan is both great and divided into three parts when he claims that the people are deprived of self-government because the Constitution is not amended so as to elect Senators by the popular vote, because of the rules of the House of Representatives, and because of the corrupt use of money in elections. The people elect the legislators who elect the Senators, and they instruct the Legislature whom they prefer should be the representative of the State in the upper house at Washington. But on the question of the amendment to the Constitution a little history will demonstrate Democratic inconsistency on this subject. The last time a proposed amendment to the Constitution for the election of United States Senators by the people of the several States, having passed the House of Representatives, came to the Senate it was referred to the Committee on Privileges and Elections, of which I am a member. An amendment to the Constitution requires the two-thirds vote of both houses. The Republicans have not two-thirds and therefore an amendment must receive Democratic votes. While it was under consideration in the Committee on Privileges and Elections I prepared and offered an amendment to the amendment, the effect of which was that in the election of United States Senators by the people the people entitled to vote under the Constitution of the United States should be permitted to vote and have their vote counted. This of course meant that in the thirteen Southern States where the negro voter is disfranchised, in the election of a United States Senator, Congress would pass laws so that he as well as all other citizens should cast his vote and have it counted as cast. This amendment of mine was adopted in the committee. The Republicans all voted for it and the Democratic Senators all voted against it. Then the Democratic Senators announced that they would oppose the amendment to the Constitution in that form, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and the late venerable Senator Pettus remarked, "Before this amendment of the Senator of New York every white man in the State of Alabama was in favor of this proposition and now every white man in the State of Alabama is opposed to it." That opposition of the Democratic Senators killed the amendment to the Constitution, and they will

always kill it so long as it includes the right of every citizen under the Constitution of the United States in every State in the Union to cast his ballot for United States Senator.

The claim that the corrupt use of money in elections deprives the people of their power to rule is a monstrous proposition. There is no more useful work in the way of education of the citizens, and especially of the new citizen or the young citizen who casts his first vote, than the literature which is distributed by the two parties and the speeches which are made in every locality. But literature costs enormously. Its distribution among fifteen millions of voters takes an immense amount of money, and the necessary expense of an army of speakers, of the hiring of halls and other paraphernalia is very great. The use of money corruptly means that the voters are bribed, and every citizen knows that this is a slander upon the voter.

The third place, according to Mr. Bryan, where the people do not rule is in the House of Representatives. The people want Congress to enact laws to meet the constantly recurring necessities of a great and growing country. They want those measures which are crystallized into the statutes to be thoroughly studied, considered and debated. With three hundred and ninety-one members of the House of Representatives and an average of twenty-five thousand bills introduced every season, if there were no rules necessary legislation would be lost and foolish legislation often passed. The House of Representatives up to the time of the great speaker, Thomas B. Reed, was in the hands of the minority. They could stop all legislation until the majority conceded to them what they wanted, and until then they would not permit the majority to have what they deemed wise. Our Government is necessarily a government by majorities, otherwise it would be anarchy. The clearest refutation of this charge of the Democratic candidate is that during the period when he was a member of Congress the House was Democratic, the Speaker was a Democrat, Mr. Bryan was a member of the majority and they adopted almost verbatim the rules of Czar Reed.

The President of the United States has become the most powerful ruler in the world. In him is concentrated for the time being in large measure the power of the people. We have witnessed as our country has grown the enormous increase of executive authority and influence. Mr. Bryan recognizes this in those

confident assertions made in recent speeches that he can carry the measures which he desires through both houses of Congress because of the public sentiment which he can place behind them by virtue of his office. The ability, experience and characteristics of the candidates are more important for the welfare of the country than party platforms or professions. Happily both candidates have lived in the light and we know all about them. Mr. Bryan's only experience in public life was as a member of the Ways and Means Committee in the House of Representatives, where he did his part in framing the Wilson-Gorman tariff measure. That bill proved to be the most disastrous piece of legislation in the history of our country. Since then Mr. Bryan has been the most versatile creator of theories of government and the greatest lightning-change artist in the promotion of political expedients known to our public life. He says that he is bound as much by the omissions of the Democratic platform as by its declarations. We must understand, therefore, that the omissions of the Democratic platform by which he considers himself bound are the policies which from time to time in the last twelve years he has advanced and advocated. Happily the experience of the country has taught us what would have happened if his policies had been adopted in 1896, 1900 or 1904.

We all cheerfully recognize Mr. Bryan's brilliant gifts as an orator and the charm of his personality. I heard him in a political speech when President Roosevelt was present claim the authorship of Roosevelt's policies and that he was their father. At the opening of the present campaign he took the position that he was the heir of Roosevelt's policies, and now in his recent tour through our State he says they are doing nothing anyhow. I think he may make good the title to inventor of the phrase "Paramount Issue." In every campaign he has declared that one issue presented was a paramount issue. In 1896 it was the unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio to gold of sixteen to one. In the light of subsequent events we know if that suggestion had been embodied into law we would have been plunged into national and individual bankruptcy. But has he abandoned that idea? No. He apparently entertains the same views he did then, but explains that the necessity is postponed because of the large and unexpected production of gold. In other words, if there should be a check in the gold production of the world, the ratio of sixteen to one

would become a paramount issue again. In 1900 the paramount issue was imperialism, and the liberties of the Filipinos were to be crushed because of McKinley's lust for power, and the Fourth of July was to be only a memory. But under the brilliant administration of Governor Taft the Philippines advanced in self-government more in four years than the people of India have in half a century, and the Fourth of July is not only the most glorious day under the American flag within the confines of the United States, but is hailed with equal enthusiasm by the Filipinos.

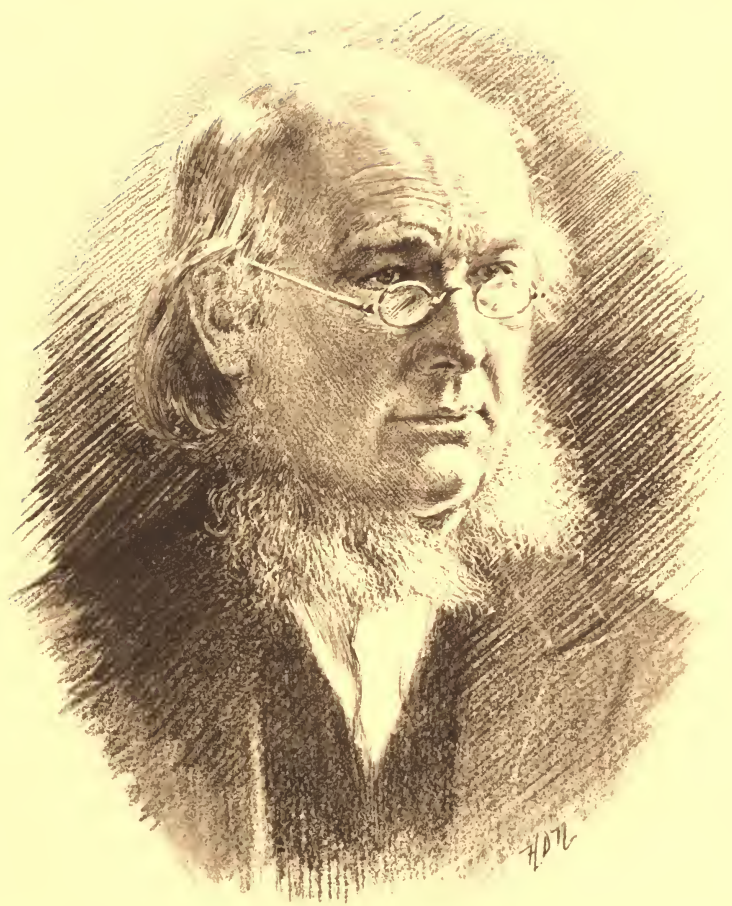
In 1904 Mr. Bryan succeeded in creating as a paramount issue the imminent and pressing danger of militarism and executive tyranny to the world's peace and the liberties and the prosperity of the country. Instead of this terrible prophecy coming true the Republican administration has accomplished more for peace than all other instrumentalities in the world. The historic journey of Secretary of State Root to and among the South American republics did more to bring them into amicable relations with each other and to establish a friendly feeling toward the United States than anything else which has ever occurred. The Central American republics were disgracing the name with their revolutions and fratricidal warfare, but the agreement brought about with Mexico to compel them to arbitrate their differences has created a new era of law and established government in those republics. During the war between Russia and Japan, the bloodiest of this generation, which threatened to involve the world, the masterful mind and signal diplomacy of Roosevelt concluded a peace between them with honor to both.

The military policy of the administration has been to make the Army efficient without any substantial increase and to enlarge the Navy. The cruise of the battleships has been a voyage of peace, compelling peace by display of power. The superb success of this fleet around the globe forced the Democratic convention of 1908 to run away from its fear of militarism of 1904 and advocate a still larger Navy.

In 1906 Mr. Bryan went abroad. He was received everywhere by the ambassadors and ministers of the United States very properly as one of our most distinguished citizens. He came in familiar touch with emperors, kings and queens and the statesmen and public men of European nations and of the East. His charm of manner and his eloquence left a good impression

among them. His return marked the flood of his career. "There is a tide in the affairs of men which taken at its flood leads on to fortune." Republican fortunes were rather at an ebb because of one of those waves of sentiment for a change in government without any other reason than the desire for a change. All who had ever voted for him were waiting to give him the warmest possible welcome, and all who had voted against him to extend a cordial greeting. The lesson of the hour was transparently political silence, but he could not escape from the old fascination of new policies and fresh schemes. He said in effect to an expectant people, who were waiting to hear his fresh impressions of other lands, civilization and governments, "I have discovered at last a cure for all our ills and a panacea for all our woes. It is not free silver at sixteen to one, it is not fighting imperialism or executive tyranny, but it is government ownership of the railroads of the country." That one idea striking against the hard sense of the American people dissipated in a moment the most brilliant political opportunity of the times.

But the great necromancer eternally finds new schemes and discovers new tricks. Government ownership of railroads as a policy disappeared for a time with the breath that uttered it, and now business confidence is to be restored, credit re-established and prosperity regained by guaranteeing bank deposits. We of New York are here upon solid historical ground. Seventy-eight years ago Martin Van Buren, the most adroit and resourceful politician of his period, as Governor of our State, passed a law through the Legislature called the Safety Fund Law. The banks were taxed to provide for the safety of deposits and note circulation. In the course of twenty years the scheme had utterly failed, the safety fund was exhausted and the public credit being involved the State had to sell six per cent. bonds to replenish the fund and pay the losses. When our free banking law went into effect the scheme was utterly repudiated. Mr. Bryan cites the scheme in Oklahoma as a phenomenal success, but that scheme has been in operation only six months. We see now that the bank examiner of Oklahoma has refused new charters to mushroom banks which are starting up all over the State, and is asking the courts to sustain him. Two instances are cited from the daily papers: One where there are five hundred inhabitants and two banks and a charter requested for a third, and another where



there are four hundred and fifty inhabitants and two banks and a charter requested for a third.

Experienced bankers know that there is no more dangerous or difficult business in the world for the inexperienced than banking. The Colonel Sellers and Wilkins Macawbers, who exist in every community, believe that with a bank and other people's money they can "get rich quick." Deposits are secured for banks by the reputation of their officers and directors. It is their well-known ability and integrity which lead the community to intrust its money with them. But deposits are also attracted by high rates of interest. Nearly everybody knows that no bank can live which pays five per cent. upon its deposits, and bankruptcy is certain if it pays ten. Under this scheme by which caution, honesty and ability are to guarantee speculation, exploitation or dishonesty we would have the overthrow of all canons of business morality and confidence, and we would enter upon a world of speculation which would craze and demoralize whole communities. The temptation would be so great that all risks would be taken where the speculators could secure as many depositors as the conservative bankers, or more, by paying ruinous rates of interest, and then launch their schemes with the depositors' money. The depositor would feel safe because he would have the entire banking capital of the State or Country behind his deposit. The depositor should be put upon his inquiry for the sake of good business as much in making deposits in the bank as in selling his goods or his labor to a customer.

We have a State canvass of unusual interest. The press is full of congratulation that the Republican State Convention obeyed the popular will in the nomination of Governor Hughes. But it has equally emphatically asserted that the Democratic ticket was in the mind and control of the two State and city leaders until it was finally announced and adopted by an obedient convention. The people of this State have demonstrated efficiency and devotion to the public service in our candidate, Governor Hughes, who possesses unusual claims upon the public confidence.

But, my friends, in the more than half a century in which upon the platform I have advocated candidates for the Presidency and Vice-presidency of the United States I recollect no campaign fuller of that inspiration which comes from supporting the fittest

possible men for these high places. For twenty years our candidate for Vice-president, James S. Sherman, a favorite son of New York, has been performing such service in the House of Representatives as to secure from that body signal recognition as a wise, intelligent and resourceful legislator and natural leader. He was usually selected as the chairman of the Committee of the Whole in the lower house of Congress, a place which requires unusual tact, information and brains. He will come to the presidency of the Senate with an equipment rarely found in a presiding officer.

I cannot recall a candidate for the Presidency who has had an experience of successful administration in so many branches of the public service as William H. Taft. He was a distinguished judge in the Federal Court, executive and organizer of the government, civilization, education and devolution of power upon the people of the Philippines, the pacificator of Cuba in her most difficult and perilous revolution, the guiding mind in the construction of the Panama Canal—the greatest industrial work our country has ever witnessed—the envoy who with the rarest diplomatic skill settled to the satisfaction of everybody the difficult question of the land disputes in the Philippines, and the Secretary of War and adviser of the President which brought him in touch with every department of the Government. Where in our history has there been such an all-round and triumphant career as a preparation for the Presidency? Sane, safe, judicial and wise is the universal verdict on William H. Taft.

I was talking with President McKinley soon after we had acquired the Philippines. He was filled with anxiety on the subject. He said: "We have never had experience in colonization and the government of distant colonies. The honor of our people and the credit of the administration are dependent almost entirely upon the man who is appointed governor of those islands. He must possess the rarest of qualifications, and I know the man. He has one overwhelming ambition and that I intended should be gratified. It is to become one of the Justices of the Supreme Court. I know that in asking him to be governor of the Philippines I am urging him to lay aside the ambition of a lifetime, to risk health and life in a tropical climate and his reputation in an untried field. But I believe he will accept."

Judge William H. Taft did not hesitate a moment. We all

know the marvelous results of his administration. Where there was no law there are now courts presided over by native jurists, where there were no schools there are now three thousand seven hundred schoolhouses with half a million scholars and eight hundred school teachers from the United States and six thousand Philippine teachers who receive their instructions from Americans, where there was no orderly industry there is now a development of resources and the construction of lines of intercommunication, and where there was no liberty there is now a native assembly educated sufficiently in ten years to creditably discharge the duties of representative government. Twice while Judge Taft has been performing this great work there has been presented to him the opportunity for the fulfillment of the wish, the desire and the dream of his life to be upon that greatest of courts, the Supreme Court of the United States. Twice he has pushed it aside because he thought his duty to the Philippines had not yet been fully performed. Now the American people have an opportunity to show their appreciation of this unusual public spirit and to reward a man who thus has sacrificed himself for the best interests of their country and its dependent peoples and at the same time to secure in the prime of life the ablest and fittest man in the country to be President of the United States.

REPUBLICAN LEADERS AND WORKERS

SPEECH AT THE DINNER TO THE REPUBLICAN LEADER AND WORKERS OF THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT, AT BURNS' RESTAURANT, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 14, 1908.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I have always loved, during a campaign and afterward, to meet my fellow-workers in the cause. Your first gathering was for ratification and this one is for jubilation. There is a vast difference. The first is hope; the second realization. Hope is often long deferred and then comes to naught, but realization is an asset.

I began in 1856 to be a speaker upon the platform and a worker at the polls. My best memories and most valued associations are with the men who do, it may be in a very humble way, their part in their party organization. It is not every one who is fitted to be a political worker. He must combine indefatigable industry with a knowledge of human nature, patience and good humor. It is his mission by direct personal appeal to the individual to convert the doubtful voter and carry the lazy one to the election booth. Judging from a long experience and close observation, but for these men who do their work in every election district in the State the number of citizens failing to vote would be amazing. The competition in our life is so acute that politics is a small part of the thought of the average citizen. It is unfortunately true that men of large wealth and great interests, who are most affected by bad or good government, never take any part in party management and rarely vote, but abuse, with great volubility and venom, the men who represent them in the National, State or City government, and who might be different and better if they would perform their duty. I have no sympathy with what such men suffer, or claim that they suffer, in taxation and public burdens. The first duty of the citizen is to vote; failing in that, to keep his mouth shut. He has no right to criticize that which he, by negligence or indifference, permits. Only those who participate know the vast voluntary work performed by organization men. Public meetings and the

methods of securing an audience, the printing and circulation of literature, getting the addresses of all the voters and keeping them posted as to the time and place where the election is held, require large sums of money and the devoted work of many men. All this is done by the party organizations, general and local. It is highly educational and absolutely necessary to secure the best results in general and local government. I have seen and known these election district and town workers from their early manhood to old age. I remember one whose love for politics lost him a business position which was worth ten thousand dollars a year. Then he secured a simple political place with its limited salary, and filled the duties of the position, but worked for the party all the year around. He knew personally every voter in his election district and became acquainted with those who came in and crossed off those who went out. All knew when and where the election was to take place and were repeatedly appealed to not to fail to vote. He changed his district from a Democratic to a Republican one.

It is the persistent and intelligent work of the district organizations, through their leaders and workers, which has changed so many districts in New York from the Democratic to the Republican side, and which accomplished such magnificent results in the last election. When I first came to New York from the country, there was in Manhattan no senatorial district which was certainly Republican, and only two assembly districts which were sure. The difference between conditions then and now, when we have three Republican Senators and nine Republican Assemblymen, is due to the persistent work of the district leaders and their lieutenants and assistants. This means organization, or, to use the term of opprobrium applied by the New Idea, it means a machine. We can be proud of the long line of Presidents, Vice-presidents, Governors and Legislators who have been the product of the machine. There never has been a bad Governor of New York, and several of them have been great. Now we are told, however, that the organizations must go. The New Idea, whatever that may be, is to govern us in the future. We are told that the last conventions, State, County or District, were held in the year nineteen hundred and eight, and there never will be any more. If this be true, this is the last of the dinners after election to the leader and workers of the Twenty-seventh Assem-

bly District. The gladiators as they entered the arena in the old Roman days to fight each other used to salute the Emperor with the cry, "We, who are about to die, salute you." You can have no spectacular end, but if we may believe the advocates of the New Idea, your death warrant has been signed and our meeting to-night is the Swan Song of the dying political workers.

An illustration of how the new system works: This Twenty-seventh District is surely Republican. The number of petitioners necessary to have a name placed on the official primary ballot is in some States five per cent. and in others two and a half of the party vote. In a sure district like this the minimum number of candidates would be probably ten. Each one sends out his canvassers to secure the signers to his petition. To prevent fraud, each name has to be verified and the whole properly verified when filed with the county clerk or election officers. The lowest cost of the canvass, verification and filing is fifty cents for each name. Then comes a tremendous struggle among these ten candidates and their friends to carry the primary. Each man has to organize the district by appointing election district captains and having them select their workers. This is another expense. When the primary vote is announced the man receiving the plurality is the nominee of the party. It may be he is far from being the choice of the majority. Though he has more votes than any other of the contestants, on account of the number of candidates he rarely receives more than a third or a quarter of the total. When it comes to the election, as the party organization has been disbanded by the process, he must again organize his district with election district captains and workers in order to succeed. He has a lively chance of being beaten because the nine defeated candidates at least wish and may work for that result. If he is elected there is no district organization to celebrate the victory, and he can only flock by himself and entertain his own workers at the banquet, at which the workers of the other candidates would not be guests, and the event would celebrate the victory of the candidate, and would not be, like ours to-night, an organization jubilation for all the candidates and the party.

The New Idea has captured Oregon. It is the first State where it has had an opportunity to work. Under it there was a primary ballot for United States Senator. There can not be any system devised to prevent members of one party voting at the

primaries of the opposition. Oregon is a Republican State. The Democrats, believing it would help them to defeat Senator Fulton, who is one of the strongest and ablest men in the Senate, overwhelmed Fulton by voting for his opponent at the primaries and nominating him. When, under the system, the nominee of the Republican and the nominee of the Democratic primaries came up in the general election the sentiment created by the fraudulent Democratic assistance to the successful Republican candidate led to reprisals which gave the Democratic nominee a majority. The Legislature which is to elect a United States Senator is two-thirds Republican. The State has given an enormous majority for Taft. Under the instructions contained in the primary law this Republican Legislature, though they know how the result was brought about, under the letter of the law must send, for six years, to Washington, a Democrat to fight the administration for which their State so overwhelmingly voted and the policies in which they all believe. If they fail to send this Senator to fight President Taft and his administration for four years and to advocate free trade and Bryanism for six on behalf of Republican Oregon, they violate the pledges which they made to support the primary law. This is an illustration of the practical working of the New Idea. Another case happened in New Jersey. One of the ablest and most promising of the younger men in public life is Senator Everett Colby. His district is normally five or six thousand Republican. The primary system was adopted. Under it there was a fierce contest for the nomination at the primaries, which the party leaders in New Jersey tell me cost between fifty and sixty thousand dollars. Senator Colby received the primary nomination. The bitterness growing out of this contest led to his being defeated at the election. This demonstrates that under the system, there being no organization to hold the party together and keep its members in line, a small minority of the party who belong to the defeated faction at the primary can defeat the will of the majority at the polls.

Mr. Gladstone said that the Constitution of the United States was the wisest document which ever came at one time from the hand of man. Its spirit is representative government. Our political practice, both National and State, has justified the theory of representative government. The people, absorbed in their individual affairs and business, in selecting those who shall meet,

deliberate and act for them, secure the best government the world has ever known. Under this system we have Charles E. Hughes, as Governor; from this Congressional District Herbert Parsons; from this Senatorial District Senator Agnew; from this Assembly District B. R. Robinson and from this Aldermanic District B. W. D. Brown. It would be impossible to devise any other process to secure the men who must transact the public business which would give as good results as these.

Legislators have their ears to the ground and are eager to hear from their constituents. The action of the Union League Club the other night was eminently proper. The intimation of a choice here this evening, by the leader of our district, with our Senator and Member present, and similar suggestions or appeals everywhere are welcomed by legislators, but the gayety of nations is promoted by the election which is now going on for United States Senator as if the Senate and Assembly had neither brains, conscience nor duties. Every morning the newspapers announce that a United States Senator to succeed Senator Platt has been elected in Washington, the Hot Springs of Virginia, or New York City. One important and powerful politician announced the other day, through the Associated Press, that he had elected my successor to the Senate. The papers recently gave an account of a fight at Chicago among the sons-in-law outside the door of the dying testator over his estate, but that poor man had only a few hours of life left. A man's spirit can watch the post-mortem on his body, but this confident dispenser of the people's patronage performs the operation and divides the fortune nearly three years in advance. I was a member of the Legislature in 1862 and again in 1863. There is no justification for the current abuse of legislative bodies. A man must have risen in some meritorious way so that his fellow citizens could see him above the crowd in order to become a member of the Legislature, National or State. There are two hundred and one members of our Legislature, one hundred and fifty in the Assembly and fifty-one in the Senate. The Republicans are in a large majority. They have the sole power of selecting our Senator, and I believe that they know best whom the people want and will so record by their votes. I think that the Legislature to be elected two years later, whose members are now not selected, will not care to have their constitutional duties pointed out to them two years in advance

of their selection. The confidence with which a half-dozen statesmen thus perform, in advance, the functions of the Legislature is joy for the reporters and amusement for the people.

I am charged with telling old stories. My trouble is that I discover or invent a story and use it in a speech. It gets into the newspapers and when I repeat it they say, "There is one of Chauncey's old chestnuts." I used a story many years ago which had great vogue at the time, but I think is now forgotten. A farmer came into the freight office of one of our Western roads and said to the agent, "The new summer hotel down our way tells me they are going to feed their boarders frogs' legs and I have undertaken to supply them. I wish you would have a freight car at my station Monday for I have a pond so full of frogs that I will need the car, and the hotel people say they will take them all." The farmer came down a few days afterward and said, "I won't want that car. You see the frogs in my pond made such a noise with their croaking that my family could not sleep, nor my cows chew their cud, but when I drained the pond there were only four."

Well, gentlemen, this is hardly an occasion for serious discussion. We have won a great victory and we are very happy. We have rescued business from peril and placed prosperity upon solid foundations. The country never was so rich, the markets never so open and the ability to manufacture and buy never so great, but it was all standing still awaiting the result of the election. On the one hand was experiment which would prevent business ventures and activities, and on the other hand certainty upon which business men could safely calculate for the future. Everywhere the market is responding in a way which only comes from confidence. The mills are recalling their employees, the railroads are turning the wheels of the sidetracked cars, and in every department capital and labor, unusually harmonious, are active in old channels and entering upon new. Our victors' cheers to-night are "Hail and Farewell"—"Farewell" to a great President, who will be a large figure in American history, Theodore Roosevelt, and "Hail" to the best-equipped executive who has ever entered upon the duties of the most powerful position in the world, the Presidency of the United States, William H. Taft.

CHICAGO NATIONAL CONVENTION

AN ARTICLE ON REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTIONS, NEW YORK
"HERALD," JUNE 14, 1908.

THE *Herald* wishes to know how this Republican National Convention at Chicago compares with others with which I am familiar. Every National Convention has its own distinguishing peculiarities. They differ as much from each other as do the delegates who compose them. The position which New York occupied in each has distinct historic value. The first Convention with which I was familiar was the one which met at Chicago in 1860 and nominated Abraham Lincoln for President. William H. Seward was the National Republican leader, and his nomination was confidently anticipated. New York was wildly enthusiastic in his behalf and a solid delegation headed by William M. Evarts was behind him. Mr. Lincoln was but little known outside of Illinois and the adjoining States. Politics in New York had long been dominated by the firm of Seward, Weed & Greeley. Just prior to this Convention the firm was dramatically dissolved by the withdrawal of Greeley. Horace Greeley understood public opinion and how to arouse it better than almost any journalist of his time. He instituted a campaign against the nomination of Mr. Seward. He had caused himself to be elected a delegate from Oregon. In looking around for a weapon he selected the street railway franchises in New York, which had all been given by the preceding Republican Legislature. It frightened the Convention. The Legislature had been dominated by Mr. Weed and Mr. Seward's friends. Mr. Seward knew nothing whatever about what had happened in the New York Legislature; nevertheless, Greeley succeeded in creating the impression that these grants would make a scandal in the canvass, and Seward was defeated and Abraham Lincoln nominated. The speech of Mr. Evarts presenting Mr. Seward was the feature of the Convention.

When the party met at Baltimore in 1864 it was understood that Mr. Lincoln would be renominated. The question was who for Vice-president. There was a consensus of opinion that he

should be a War Democrat, and the nomination was generally conceded to Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, who had been a Democratic Attorney-general and United States Senator from the State. Judge William H. Robertson, one of the ablest and shrewdest of the New York politicians whose appointment as Collector by Garfield sixteen years afterward led to the retirement of Conkling from public life, and I went down to Washington to get the views of the administration on the Vice-presidency. We spent the evening with Mr. Seward, Secretary of State. He said there was no point in the nomination of Dickinson; because of the soldiers' vote New York was safe, but that it was necessary to encourage the Union in the Border States; that Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, had taken his life in his hands and almost alone had kept Tennessee in the Union, and therefore the choice should fall upon him. When the Judge and I arrived at the Convention we found that the question of who should be Vice-president depended upon New York. The New York delegation fought over the question from eight o'clock one evening until three o'clock the next morning, and then the delegation by a majority of four declared for Johnson. Dickinson was voted for by the minority, but this action of the majority made Johnson Vice-president, and soon after, on the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States. The dramatic incident of that Convention was the announcement from the platform of a Union victory which had been won during the day. Mr. Lincoln in that Convention did not have everything his own way. A nomination by acclamation was refused, and Missouri cast her solid vote for General Grant on the first ballot.

The Conventions of 1868 and 1872 were simply ratification meetings in honor of nominating the idol of the nation, General Ulysses S. Grant. When 1876 came around the different factions of the party lined up for a bitter contest. Blaine was the leader and the choice of the masses of the Republican voters. While both were members of the House of Representatives, he and Senator Conkling had a bitter quarrel. Blaine would make up with anybody, but Conkling never forgave anyone against whom he had a resentment. He was determined to defeat Blaine. He controlled absolutely the organization of the State of New York and became a candidate himself, having behind him sixty-nine votes from his own State and something over

twenty others scattering. Blaine fell just short of the number necessary to succeed. Ohio presented Rutherford B. Hayes, who was wholly unknown to most of the Convention. On the second ballot New York swung to Hayes and that created a stampede which led to his nomination. We all know that it is yet a historical doubt whether Mr. Hayes or Samuel J. Tilden was elected, though Hayes was awarded the office through the electoral commission. The feature of that Convention was the speech of Robert J. Ingersoll nominating Blaine. He electrified not only the Convention but the whole country, and fixed upon Mr. Blaine the title of "The Plumed Knight," which lasted until his death. To satisfy New York William A. Wheeler, of this State, was nominated for Vice-president.

In 1880 Mr. Blaine was again a candidate and his success seemed assured. Political prophecy gave him the nomination hands down. Mr. Conkling again determined to defeat him. There was no statesman in sight with whom that could be done, so the Senator placed General Grant as a candidate in nomination for a third term. The General at that time was traveling abroad. The fight was the most hotly contested of any in Republican National Conventions. In the line of the nominating speeches, Senator Conkling's nominating General Grant was the feature of that Convention in one style, and General Garfield's nominating John Sherman in another. Garfield's speech captured the Convention. For thirty-three ballots there was scarcely any change in the votes between Grant, Blaine, and Sherman. Garfield received on every ballot one vote from Pennsylvania. On the thirty-fourth ballot Wisconsin changed her vote from Blaine to Garfield. On the thirty-fifth ballot Indiana followed suit, and on the thirty-sixth ballot there was a stampede to Garfield, and Garfield was nominated. I sat just behind him. He was so agitated and overcome that his friends had to lead and almost lift him out of the Convention. The Convention was one of the most interesting in our history. To repay New York for the terrible disappointment of Senator Conkling, Chester A. Arthur was made Vice-president.

The fight in the Convention of 1880 turned upon the unit rule. Senator Conkling claimed that the instructions of the State Conventions carried the vote of the entire delegation, and no matter what the revolt in the delegation, the Convention

should accept only the solid vote of each State. The minority of the New York delegation resisted this claim, and also a minority of the Pennsylvania delegation, headed by Wayne MacVeagh. On a close vote the unit rule was defeated, and the vote of each delegate had to be recorded in favor of his candidate. General Grant had a majority on the unit rule, but was beaten on the individual choice.

In 1884 Mr. Arthur, who became President on the assassination of General Garfield, had made an excellent Chief Magistrate, and there was a strong sentiment in favor of his nomination for the Presidency. The friends of Mr. Blaine, however, were determined that this time he should be nominated. There is no question that in 1876 and 1880 Blaine was the choice of the vast majority of the Republican voters. The fight opened with Arthur, Blaine, and Edmunds as candidates. That Convention was distinguished by the first appearance on the national stage of Theodore Roosevelt. The New York delegation was divided between Arthur and Blaine, and Mr. Roosevelt, with George M. Curtis, led a small minority for Senator Edmunds of Vermont. The temporary chairman had always been named by the National Committee and that nomination confirmed by the Convention. The National Committee named for temporary chairman Powell Clayton, from Arkansas. Mr. Roosevelt, then twenty-four years of age, immediately arose, commanded the attention of the Convention, claimed that it was an outrage upon the seven hundred and odd delegates to have a choice made by a National Committee of whom only two members were delegates to the Convention, that the negro should be recognized, and that Mr. Lynch, a negro Congressman and a delegate from Mississippi, should be elected. The appeal of Roosevelt won the day. The National Committee was defeated and Mr. Lynch elected. Byron says in "Mazeppa";

"There never yet was human power
Which could evade, if unforgiven,
The patient search and vigil long,
Of him who treasures up a wrong."

In the whirligig of time this same Powell Clayton was a member of the sub-committee of the National Committee whose action at Chicago a few days ago surprised the country in turning down what was generally supposed to be President Roosevelt's

choice for temporary chairman and nominating Senator Burrows.

Four years of the Democratic administration under President Cleveland left the Republican Convention of 1888 without any marked leadership, and a sort of free-for-all contest. The potent power of patronage was absent. New York presented me as her candidate, and I started with ninety-nine votes. The favorite of the party leaders was Senator Allison. Benjamin Harrison was receiving the vote of Indiana and a few others scattering. The Iowa delegation concentrated their fire upon me, saying that as I was then president of the New York Central Railroad my nomination would be fatal in their State, where hostility to railroads was the principal party asset. They were joined by Nebraska and Kansas, who came to me in a body and said if I ran, while they could carry their States for me for President, the party would be disrupted on account of the railroad issue, but that if I withdrew Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas would be Republican by enormous majorities forever. It is a curious commentary upon political prophecies that though I withdrew all three of these States subsequently went Democratic. I was promised about sixty more votes on the next ballot, but called the New York delegation together, stated to them the situation, and asked to be released from further candidacy. The delegation voted to leave the choice for whom they should cast their votes to the four delegates at large, who were Senator Platt, Frank Hiscock, Warner Miller, and myself. Platt and Hiscock were for Allison, Miller for John Sherman, and in the course of discussion a good deal of friction arose between them. I thought that Harrison, with his ancestry and the sentiment of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," and his splendid war record, presented the most popular possibilities, and he was free from the antagonism aroused in New York by Iowa's hostility, and finally the four delegates at large coming to the same conclusion, that result was reported to the New York delegation, and they thereupon made Benjamin Harrison their candidate. This secured his nomination. Again to satisfy New York for the loss of the Presidency, Levi P. Morton was nominated for Vice-president.

President Harrison, though I think one of the ablest of all our Presidents, had unfortunately a cold manner which offended the party leaders. They decided that he should not be renominated. The President asked me to take the leadership of his can-

vass for a renomination and make the nominating speech. I was very fond of Harrison, and accepted the task. It seemed to me that success could only be had, as against the formidable strength of the leaders, by popular appeals, and I furnished the press with several columns a day setting forth the claims and availability of Harrison. Before accepting the commission from the President, I called upon Mr. Blaine, told him of the request and said to him, "I have been devoted to you for a quarter of a century. If you are a candidate, then I am for you." He replied that his health was such that under no circumstances would he think of entering the field, nor did he believe he could survive the canvass, and that I was at liberty to do as I thought best. Mr. Blaine at that time was Secretary of State in Harrison's Cabinet. His friends, however, insisted on presenting his candidacy against the President and persuaded him to permit them to do so. The speech of Senator Wolcott nominating him was a political gem. But after one of the hardest fights ever had in a National Convention, Harrison was renominated, and again New York was awarded the Vice-presidential nomination in the person of Mr. Whitelaw Reid.

The distinguishing feature of the Convention of 1892 was the coming into national view, appreciation and popularity of William McKinley as permanent chairman of the Convention.

In 1896 an entirely new situation had arisen in the party. Mark Hanna, who had been unknown in national politics but a successful business man, decided to do all in his power to bring about the nomination of William McKinley for President. He demonstrated a talent for organization upon a large scale never known before in American politics. He created an organization in every State which compelled the submission of the State leaders or their retirement. When the Convention met in St. Louis, Hanna was absolute master of the situation. While very arbitrary and dictatorial, he had an open mind for suggestion and advice and a talent for selecting able lieutenants. He secured the nomination of McKinley almost by acclamation, and then on account of the efficient help he had received from United States Senator Sewell, of New Jersey, he gave to New Jersey the Vice-presidency, in the person of Garret A. Hobart, though Hobart personally was unknown to the Convention.

The Convention of 1900 was again dominated by Hanna.

The only question was who for Vice-president. Hanna concluded that Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of New York and hero of the Spanish War, would put ginger into the canvass and furnish aggressiveness and fighting qualities which did not characterize the amiable and able McKinley. Roosevelt resisted might and main. He wanted again to be Governor of New York. He thought the Vice-presidency a political tomb, but no man yet has been able to resist the collective power of the delegates of his party when they have called upon him, and for the first time in his life Roosevelt surrendered.

The Convention of 1904, of course, was an enthusiastic ratification meeting for Roosevelt, followed by the most phenomenal popular majority of any President since Washington.

It will be seen by this review that New York has held in every Convention a place commensurate with, if not beyond, her lead as the Empire State. In the present Convention she has little voice or consideration. The reason is that her delegation is hopelessly divided. The majority are for Governor Hughes and the rest are for Taft. But as the State cannot present a candidate for both President and Vice-president, nor present a candidate for Vice-president without disloyalty to Governor Hughes, we are not a factor of much power in the Convention. This Convention bows to a dominating personality of far more power and personal magnetism than Mark Hanna. It is emphatically a Roosevelt Convention. Its delegates believe in his policies, and by an overwhelming majority are enthusiastically devoted to him as a magnetic leader. In candidacy and platform the Convention is accepting with unquestioning faith Theodore Roosevelt. Except for his strong prohibition they would take him. The Convention believes that in selecting Taft as his candidate the President has been tactically wise. They believe that when the ability, character, achievements, and unequaled equipment for the place, of Secretary Taft are presented to the people in the campaign, he will grow in strength and popularity from the day he is nominated. They believe that he will be elected and when elected will become one of the greatest and wisest in the distinguished line of Presidents of the United States.

SARATOGA STATE CONVENTION

SPEECH TO THE DELEGATES OF THE REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION, AFTER THE CONVENTION, SARATOGA, SEPTEMBER 15, 1908.

GENTLEMEN: I have attended most of the Republican State Conventions which have met in my time. All of them have been most interesting because of the importance of their action upon the State and the Nation. But this one is of peculiar interest, which under your call I may be permitted to explain. The first State Convention of the Republican Party to nominate a Governor and State officers which I attended as a delegate was held in Syracuse in 1858. My membership of this body marks the rounding out in my Convention life of fifty years. I think the record is unique and has no parallel. I was a law student at Peekskill, Westchester County, when elected. Transportation facilities were not luxurious in those days, and not a single member of the Convention came there in a sleeping car. About three hundred arrived together and entered the Syracuse House at three o'clock in the morning. The veteran leader of the party, Thurlow Weed, stood in the lobby of the hotel greeting old friends and being introduced to those whom he had never met before. They were, of course, the young men, for Mr. Weed knew every active politician in every town in the State. As each one of about one hundred new faces was presented to him he gave that piercing look which photographed the man upon his mind, and he never forgot him. The next morning he recollected all those introductions and called them easily by name, with an intelligent inquiry about matters and men in their localities. There have been only two other men in our history who possessed this extraordinary gift of recalling faces and names. One was Henry Clay and the other James G. Blaine. There is no faculty which gives such power and popularity to its possessor, because there is no compliment so highly appreciated by the average man as to have a gentleman of distinction, whom he may have met only once, and that years before, greet him as an old friend by name and recall the time, place, and circumstances.

I came to the Convention opposed to the organization and to organization methods and men. This frame of mind and position is the usual characteristic of the young men and of those who are new recruits in the field of politics. To prevent my doing any harm my associates were those veteran politicians of Westchester, Senator, Judge and Congressman William H. Robertson; Senator H. D. Robertson and General James W. Husted, twenty-three times a member of the Assembly and seven times its Speaker. Mr. Weed held leadership for thirty years against all comers, through his skill as a tactician, his wisdom in political action, and his recognition of and recruiting rising young men into his ranks. Of course he had been informed of my hostile propensities and flattered me beyond measure by requesting a conference. He asked me who was my candidate, and I named one of the Supreme Court judges who had attracted my attention as a young lawyer, and who had a following among the younger members of the Convention. Mr. Weed said, "My dear friend, the Judge is an able and admirable man, but politics are eminently practical. The Democratic Party has been so long in power in the Nation and in the State that they have all the offices and they can be assessed for a large sum of money and other means of contribution which come from power. Campaigns, my dear friend, cannot be carried on without money; literature must be printed; pamphlets must be circulated; campaign speakers must have their expenses and some of them salaries; county and town organizations where there is disorganization because of hopeless minorities must be helped, and without these the Democratic Party is too strongly entrenched in our State for us to hope to win a victory. Now, Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, who is a great merchant, can and will, if nominated, furnish with his friends the funds to meet the enforced contributions of our Democratic opponents, and with that aid success is certain." There was no Civil Service in those days, and the office-holder was compelled to pay by an assessment upon percentages which included the highest and the lowest. This argument of Mr. Weed's, which would have been received in our day with varied emotions, met with almost unanimous applause, and Edwin D. Morgan was nominated and triumphantly elected.

The practical aspects of the management of that Convention in the marshaling of candidates, in the nominating speeches and

in the conduct of the campaign methods have not changed a particle from that day to this. It is difficult now to appreciate that early situation. The Republican Party was only two years old. Its national leader was William H. Seward. It was formed out of the heat of the anti-slavery agitation with such of the Whig Party as was anti-slavery and a certain percentage of the anti-slavery Democrats. Taking the stump two weeks after my graduation in June, 1856, at Yale, and keeping upon the platform until the close of the election in November is what made me a delegate to the Convention.

The sole question at issue in 1858 was, "Should slavery be extended over the territories which now constitute Nebraska, Kansas, Idaho, the two Dakotas, and Montana." With the exception of a small and politically uninfluential band of Abolitionists, no one was in favor of touching slavery where it existed.

Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln, who were the leaders of the anti-slavery activity, were as one in this opinion and limited their hostility entirely to the extension of the institution into the new territories. New York was a doubtful State upon this question, because of the immense commercial interests which we had in supplying the Slave States with manufactured products. That trade, upon which rested very largely the commercial and industrial prosperity of our commonwealth, controlled the conscience and the utterances of the pulpit as well as the press.

In a conversation in 1880 with Mr. Gladstone he said, "If I had the opportunity of selecting from all the half centuries of recorded time the one in which I would rather have had my public activities I should choose the one in which I have lived and worked, because it has been a half century of emancipation." What he meant was the emancipation of the people of the Old World from the tyranny of privilege and class to the rise of modern democracy. But for an American, the fifty years from 1858 to 1908 are more fruitful of achievements which have elevated humanity, advanced civilization, and increased the opportunities and happiness of our people and power of our country than any fifty years in its history. Let us stand here in 1908 and look back to 1858 and the half centuries of recorded time and they seem insignificant indeed in their contributions to the welfare of the world. Victory for free soil and free speech in our territories in 1860, the preservation of the Union, the recast-

ing of its institutions upon an enduring foundation by the Civil War, the emancipation of the slaves and the reconstruction of the States upon a patriotic brotherhood so broad that the passions of the Civil War are forgotten and the men in gray march alongside of the men in blue for an old flag against a foreign foe. Then the clearing away of the perils of speculative experiments and false policies which had succeeded because of the necessities of war; then the persistent and insistent campaigns of education to rescue our financial system from the ruin which threatened it by fiat money and free silver; then the firm establishment of the gold basis; then the Spanish War, and almost in a day our becoming a world power with world responsibilities and with colonial duties never dreamed of before, and then the successful curbing without destroying the mighty combinations of industry, of transportation, and of commerce, which have been the result of a development vaster, greater and of more tremendous magnitude than any country or nation in all history. These achievements, which make our country what it is to-day, are all the results of Republican statesmanship and the persistent loyalty of the Republican masses temporary to the principles of their faith. But there are other contributions in that fifty years which will live when its important measures are forgotten. There is little memory among succeeding generations for the questions which agitated their predecessors, and which if they had not been wisely settled would have been fatal to themselves. But the men who stood out from the masses and became the leaders and won these victories for the right will live forever. In them are embodied the legislation which they defeated or won. Their shadowy forms are the generals of the future and the inspiration of its living commanders.

The half century which we are considering and which closes with this Convention began with the great and ever-growing figure of Abraham Lincoln. It gave to us Grant, Sherman and Sheridan. We took step and marched with triumphant banners under the leadership of Garfield and McKinley. The half century which began with Lincoln closes with Roosevelt. Lincoln, the savior of the Union, suffered in his time as much from detraction, calumny, and enmity as any public man who ever lived. But detraction, calumny, and enmity are in their graves, while the great emancipator has risen in stature until he stands beside

Washington. The enforcement of the laws under the most difficult and trying conditions, the enactment of laws whose operation had been most beneficent and will become more so with the years, the bringing about of the peace of the world with honor to both parties, were brought about not so much by the official position of the mediator as by his commanding personality. The history of these fifty years demonstrates that the people are equal to any emergency or any crisis, and that from their ranks in great perils will always arise their natural and trusted leaders. Happily for us the questions we are to solve are not so original nor so perilous as those which make an era of the fifty years I have hastily reviewed. It is our mission to preserve what has been for us so gloriously won. We need in that most powerful position on earth—the Presidency of the United States—the rarest executive ability, demonstrated administrative wisdom and courage, and a judicial mind thoroughly informed upon the principles and policies which have created our prosperity and the measures which have averted its perils. We have all these in the most extraordinarily experienced and equipped man in every department of the Government, and who is a candidate for the Chief Magistracy—William H. Taft.

THE TARIFF AND POCKET-BOOK

HOW THE NEW TARIFF HELPS YOUR POCKET-BOOK, "LESLIE'S WEEKLY," AUGUST 19, 1909.

THE problem which Congress had primarily to face in framing the tariff bill was to find additional revenues sufficient to meet the deficiency in the treasury. After five months of exhaustive examination by experts in the Government service, by testimony from manufacturers, merchants, and people interested in every department of American industry, the present tariff bill has been perfected and become a law.

After the House of Representatives and the Senate had acted and the differences between them were in conference, the conferees appealed to the President. Mr. Taft at once took up all the questions involved with that thoroughness, impartiality, and candor which made him one of the best judges in our judicial history. The tariff bill has been viciously assailed and its provisions have been subject to more glaring misrepresentations than any enactment in this generation. The same tactics were employed by Democrats, free traders, revenue theorists, and disgruntled Republicans against the McKinley Bill when it was enacted in 1890. The elections came before the practical workings of the measure could demonstrate the falsity of these attacks, and the result was what is known as the Wilson-Gorman Bill. Following its passage and the effect it had upon American industries and labor, we had one of the most severe panics in our history. Out of this distress came the triumph of McKinley, with a majority in both houses and the passage of the Dingley Bill, under which we have lived and prospered since 1897.

During that period there was an increase in the value of American manufactures of over twelve hundred millions of dollars, and an increase in the number of workers in every department of American industry from 26,350,000 to 34,000,000. The extraordinary feature of this is that, under our economic system, we have been able to find remunerative employment for this

addition of 7,650,000 who required employment, at paying wages. There has been an increase during the same period of 50,000 manufacturing establishments, working in 368 different industries, offering employment in new industries developed by protection which did not exist when the Dingley Bill was enacted.

The increases in the new tariff bill are almost entirely in luxuries. The increase in alcoholic compounds, toilet preparations and the like will yield an additional revenue of \$200,000; high-grade glass, \$150,000; automobiles, bullion, metal threads for fancy ornamentations, pearl-handled knives and things of that description, \$100,000; hops, figs, imported dates and grapes, \$500,000; the spirit and wine schedule, including champagnes and imported liquors, \$4,400,000. The only increase in cotton was upon very high-grade goods, and this will yield \$200,000 additional. There will be \$500,000 additional gathered from high-grade manufactures in flax, hemp and jute, and about \$200,000 in the increase on the finest silks. There will be about \$150,000 additional from an increased duty on cigar labels and embossed paper and ornamental things of luxury made from paper. There will be \$2,000,000 additional growing out of the increased tariff on ostrich feathers, imported ornaments, hat ornamentations and articles of personal adornment which only the rich can buy and use. On all these articles, which do not enter at all into common consumption and which are wholly a matter of luxury, there will be an additional revenue of \$15,000,000 without any burden whatever upon the average consumer, or what Lincoln called the plain people.

In the new tariff bill there have been five hundred reductions of rates, covering thousands of articles. The increases have been about one hundred—almost entirely, as I have said, in articles of luxury. In agricultural implements, like wagons, mowers, binders, harrows, rakes, plows, cultivators, threshers and drills, there has been a uniform reduction of twenty-five per cent. In red and white lead for paint, in varnishes, glazed brick, earthenware and china in common use, and common window glass, there has been a reduction of from ten to thirty-three per cent. Bar iron used by blacksmiths has been reduced fifty per cent, and so have steel rails, while on steel beams and girders for buildings, hoop and bar iron, barb wire for fences, bolts and nuts,

knives and forks for table use, spikes and nails, horseshoes, mule-shoes, tacks, brads, saws, screws, sewing machines, typewriters, all of which are necessary for house-building business and domestic purposes, the duties have been reduced from twelve to fifty per cent.

Oilcloths and linoleums for floors have been reduced from nine to thirty-eight per cent, and oilcloths for tables, etc., forty per cent. The duties on bituminous coal have been reduced thirty-three per cent; print paper, thirty-seven per cent; hats and bonnets, twenty per cent; boots and shoes, forty per cent; sole leather and belting, seventy-five per cent; leather for shoe uppers, twenty-five per cent; gloves for ordinary use, thirty per cent; harness, saddles, etc., fifty-five per cent. In addition, we have let in Philippine and Porto Rican sugar free, and retained the twenty per cent advantage for Cuban sugar. In lumber necessary for cheap houses there has been a reduction of fifty per cent on part, and from thirty to thirty-seven per cent on the rest. Fence posts have been made free, and laths have been reduced twenty per cent. It will be seen here that in everything which enters into the life of the farm and the building of the home and to its furniture there has been a very marked reduction from the duties in the Dingley Bill. Petroleum and all its products have been made free.

Summing up the whole matter, the tariff under the new Payne Bill had been decreased from the Dingley rate on imported goods valued in round numbers at \$5,000,000,000, while the tariff has been increased on goods other than liquors and luxuries valued at only \$241,000,000 in round numbers. If manufacturers, middlemen, wholesalers and retailers do not absorb these reductions in the tariff, these articles in common use should be much cheaper to the consumer. Now, what will be the effect upon the consumer? The National Clothiers' Association says that it must add three dollars to twelve-dollar suits and five dollars to twenty-dollar suits, because of the increase in the cost of cloth on account of the tariff. There has not been a penny's increase in this tariff, either in wool or in the cloth. The cloth in a twelve-dollar suit costs three dollars, and the duty on the wool would be seventy-five cents. The cost of the cloth in a twenty-dollar suit is five dollars, and the duty on the wool is one dollar and twenty-five cents. As there has been no increase this year

in wages, rentals, buttons, thread and other things which make up a suit of clothes, it is evident that if an advance is made it must be an additional profit to the manufacturers and retailers of ready-made clothes. The reduction on boots and shoes will amount to from thirty to fifty cents a pair to the manufacturer.

Of the 15,000,000 of additional revenue gained from the increase of tariff duties upon liquors and luxuries, about one-half of it is lost again in the reduction of the tariff from the present rate upon the necessaries of life. But when we add to the additional revenue upon these articles the nearly \$10,000,000 more which is to come from tobacco, and from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 which is to come from the corporation tax, and the still additional income which will come from prosperity and greater purchasing powers, our revenues will be in excess of expenditures and the government on Easy Street.

If we are to retain the protective system, with its underlying principle of maintaining American industries and the American standard of wages and employment for American workingmen, and have markets for our ever-increasing productive power, this Taft-Payne-Aldrich Bill is the fairest, the most equitable, and the most beneficent tariff bill which has been passed in our history. It will have fifteen months of operation before a general election, and in that time will demonstrate its value. There has been an increase in the cost of living during the last ten years. The same thing is true in all highly organized industrial countries. There has been little increase in clothing, in rentals, and none in transportation. The increase has been mainly in the cost of food, which makes up so large a proportion of the expense of a family averaging five or more members. Wheat was selling, at the time of the enactment of the McKinley Bill, at sixty-five cents a bushel. It now brings one dollar and twenty cents at the farmers' doors. Corn was selling then at fifteen cents a bushel, and it is now bringing sixty-five cents. Beef on the hoof was then selling below the cost of production—I think, about four cents a pound—and now it is selling at seven and a half cents. These are the principal articles which enter into the food of the family. Tariff people believe that this increase is due to the enormous advance in the demand, because of the purchasing

power of the American people from remunerative employment due to protection.

If, as the statistics apparently prove, there were 3,000,000 out of employment, and with little or no purchasing power for themselves and their families, in 1896 and 1897, and they had been re-employed and employment found for 7,650,000 additional, it will at once be seen where this greater demand has given higher prices to the farmer, though his cost of production has not been increased at all. So far as the farmer is concerned in this tariff, while reductions have been made, as I have cited, in almost everything which he uses, the tariff on his wheat, corn, oats, rye, beans, onions, potatoes, flaxseed, butter, cheese, poultry, cattle, horses, sheep, milk, eggs and hay has remained the same as in the Dingley Bill, except the slight raise in some of these products.

Democratic objectors to the tariff bill complain that the schedules are not reduced to the old-fashioned Democratic doctrine of tariff for revenue only; at the same time, in the articles in which their own States are interested, they have generally demanded the highest duties known in the bill, claiming, however, that it is not for protection, but for revenue—as pineapples, for instance, at one hundred and twenty-eight per cent increase. The Republican insurgents admit that there has been a reduction downward in the tariff duties from the rates in the McKinley bill, but they complain that it has not gone far enough in articles which are produced in other States than their own, but in the articles in which their States are interested it has gone too far.

They complain still further that, during the five months the bill has been under consideration, they have not been able to understand all its provisions nor had time to inform themselves in regard to the justice or the injustice of the schedules in the bill. They denounce the Republican majority which supported the Finance Committee in its conclusions and now supports the conference report and the perfected bill, and are specially hostile to, and critical of, this law, which meets the judgment of eight-tenths of the Republicans of the House of Representatives, eight-tenths of the Republicans of the Senate, and has the emphatic approval of President Taft, who did so much to bring about the conclusions which were asked for and expected by the

American people. The difficulty with the insurgent Senators is that, while they had a case, or thought they had, when shouting so long and so loudly for revision downward, now that the chief executive of the United States has set his seal of approval upon the bill as revising downward according to party pledges and popular expectation, they must necessarily, while still opposing the measure, include President Taft in their criticism and denunciation.

We of the majority, marching under the leadership of our President, have no explanations to make, because we know the beneficent results which will follow. The operations of the new tariff law will be the most eloquent speech which could be delivered in its behalf and in justification of our votes. But our insurgent friends must explain from now on why they are more intelligent, more virtuous, and more public-spirited than the official leader of their party and the great majority of their political associates in the two houses of Congress.

"Mary," said the thrifty housewife to the cook, "how did you make that excellent sponge cake we had for supper last evening?"

"Well, mum," said the cook, "I first put the ingredients in the dish, and then I put the dish in the oven."

The difference between my insurgent friends and the majority is that, while they were the largest contributors to the nine million seven hundred and seventy-six thousand words in the tariff speeches in the *Congressional Record* and did not contribute a line to the tariff law, we who supported the bill stayed in the kitchen with the cook and know exactly not only the ingredients, but the amount of each and the time required for perfection in the cooking of a cake which is to be enjoyed by the whole American people.

With the passage of the new tariff bill, we enter upon a period of prosperity unknown in the history of this or any other country. From results gathered by careful examinations all over the country, there will be an increase in the production of winter wheat, spring wheat, corn, oats, barley and rye in 1909 over 1908, in round numbers, of one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine millions of bushels, or twenty-seven per cent; and that twenty-seven per cent increase is in comparison with a normal year. There will be an increase in the hay crop in the same period of

over three millions and a half of tons. The following summary of crop reports will give some idea of the situation:

	1908	1909	Increase	Per Cent.
Winter wheat	437,908,000	451,175,000	13,267,000	— 3
Spring wheat	226,694,000	301,427,000	74,733,000	— 33
Corn	2,668,651,000	3,419,287,000	750,636,000	— 28
Oats	807,093,898	1,119,061,000	311,967,102	— 38
Barley	166,756,000	183,431,000	16,675,000	— 10
Rye	31,851,000	33,443,000	1,592,000	— 5
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	4,338,953,898	5,507,824,000	1,168,870,102	— 27
Hay	70,862,596	74,441,146	3,578,000	— 5.5

When we take into consideration the prices which this enormous product of five thousand five hundred millions of bushels will bring, which will all be additional wealth from the soil, the imagination is appalled at the new wealth which is to come to the country. To absorb this vast production, the mills must be running, the factories on full time, the mines opened, and the transportation companies crowded with freight. This bill enacted into a law will be the efficient instrument to bring about these results.

DINNER AT REPUBLICAN CLUB

SPEECH AT THE DINNER TO MR. C. H. YOUNG, RETIRING PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLICAN CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 26,
1909.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: This occasion, like the original president of the club, is unique. It is like chaos, void and of no purpose. Its stated object is in honor of those who make dinners worth while. This would seem to include all who have been more or less successful in entertaining the public by their speeches. I think I am easily, among platform speakers, and I do not know but including those who have talked at the table, the dean of the corps. For fifty-three years I have taken a vacation from arduous labors in my profession and business to respond to invitations to deliver addresses upon subjects covering the whole field of human thought and activities. I think they have averaged from three to four times a week during nine months in each year. If they had been recorded and preserved they might not have added much to the sum of human knowledge, but they would have filled a library.

The occasion is fitting for saying a word of deserving compliment to the president of this club. After two years of more than ordinarily successful administration he retires of his own volition. He stands in the front rank of club presidents in both holding and increasing membership during trying financial times. He has done it by the processes by which much-maligned men who have capacity always succeed—the way in which Rockefeller made his fortune in oil, Carnegie in steel, Morgan in banking, Eliot and Hadley great reputations in education, Roosevelt and Taft in political distinction, and party leaders in keeping control of their organizations—by having his heart in the work and his mind upon its successful execution.

The genesis of a public speaker differs with each individual. I arrived home from Yale in June, 1856, a red-hot anti-slavery Republican, returning to a Democratic pro-slavery family. My father had no consideration or charity for what he termed

"Yankee opinions," which he thought would break up the Union and ruin the country. When in anger he was exceedingly emphatic in the expression of his views. I notice a wonderful improvement in man's vocabulary in the last half century. At that period it was rather the mark of a gentleman to swear. Blasphemy was a cultivated art. I have noticed all my life one effect which swearing has upon the individual. It continually limits and impoverishes his vocabulary. It becomes a habit to express by an oath a sentiment which would require many sentences to explain. It reduces the swearer at last to a condition where he is unable to make himself clear except by adding more sulphur to his expressions.

At a public meeting in the village where the orator George William Curtis failed to attend I was called out, more to prevent the family bringing me back into the Democratic fold than in expectation of a speech, but the opportunity broke the barrier which for the sake of peace in the family had kept back my views, and without noticing either the audience or time I spoke for over an hour. Two days afterward I was requested by the State Committee to go upon the stump and traverse the State from one end to the other. One of the instances of that trip was a speech I made in Buffalo, where the intensity of my animosity against James Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, and my belief in his utter lack of patriotism led me to make an attack embodying all the things that had appeared in our party newspapers against him. I had not yet begun the study of the law, and lay awake all night thinking that what I had said was libel if not true and expecting a suit to be brought the next day, and wondering where I could get the testimony to sustain my charges. I was immensely relieved by finding that the local newspapers, while giving columns to the Senator and Congressman who spoke with me, simply mentioned that a young gentleman named Chauncey M. Depew, just out of College, also spoke. That meeting accomplished two things: It gave me a sympathy which I have had ever since for orators who linger in the class of those in the reports of public meetings or of banquets who "also spoke," and it also led to a resolve that I never again would attack the character of a candidate or say aught which might rankle in his mind or brand his memory. I have found in all my experiences that there is enough in the public acts of the

candidate and in the political issues between the parties to occupy all the talent of the speaker, and that it is more effective to compliment as an individual the opponent than to malign him. While I have sympathy with those who "also spoke," it is as great for the unhappy orator at the banquet board who is the last on the list and who fails to see the compliment of the chairman who says he is put there to hold the audience, when his speech is being addressed to empty bottles and those into whom the contents have been poured, both equally appreciative. He too often escapes without being even in the class, in the next day's paper, of those who spoke.

Very few after-dinner speakers have a sense of proportion. A man who talks an hour and is among those who are earlier on the list should be executed without the benefit of clergy. I remember a distinguished Western Governor and political orator whom I sat beside at a dinner at Delmonico's. He asked me how long he could speak. I said: "There are six, and twenty minutes would be the limit, thirty at the most, or those who followed would assassinate you." He answered: "No human being can properly express his thought in less than an hour." At half past twelve the Governor was speaking to empty seats and concluded in a rage. He was at the same hotel with one of the most eloquent orators of the country, himself a speaker that evening but crowded out by the Governor, and this orator told me the next day that there was loud rapping on his door which brought him out of bed. The Governor strolled in and striking his fist on the table said: "My friend, never again will I address such idiots as were at that hotel to-night. Now, I want to tell you what I intended to say." After his voice had rung through the skylight and along the corridors and created such a riot among the guests of the hotel that they complained at the desk, the night watchman informed the Governor that unless he stopped and finished his speech in Madison Square he would be immediately ejected from the hotel.

The most trying position for a speaker is to be sent to fill the appointments of an orator of national reputation. He may make a much better speech than the one expected, but he is sure to have a hostile committee and an angry audience. When I ran for Secretary of State in 1863, my own engagements were canceled in order that I might fill appointments which had been made

for Governor Andrews of Massachusetts. Every campaign has one speaker who is wanted everywhere. In one it was George William Curtis, in another Governor Andrews of Massachusetts, in another Roscoe Conkling, in another Garfield, in another McKinley, in another Blaine, and in another Ingersoll. Though I was the candidate at the head of the ticket, the people wanted Andrews, whose speeches the newspapers were praising beyond anything which had ever before been uttered by mortal man. I heard the Governor, who read a two-hour address from manuscript. I arrived at a great mass-meeting at Deposit, in Broome County. It was a typical gathering of the whole countryside, with men on horseback, ox carts laden with pretty girls, marching bands and clubs with the implements of their trade. The committee were so angry because I, then a very young man, was taking the place of this great idol, that they did not ask my name, denounced me in no measured terms, refused to give me a lunch and finally said they had been cheated once before in this way by the poorest speaker who ever trod on the platform. After a while they succeeded in bringing Daniel S. Dickinson, ex-United States Attorney and ex-United States Senator, from Binghamton. Dickinson said: "Why, gentlemen, this is your candidate who is at the head of your ticket." But that did not mend matters much. They wanted Andrews. Dickinson was the most picturesque speaker I ever listened to, and also the most venerable figure upon the platform. With his long, white hair he seemed to be a hundred years old. He told stories which no man to-day, no matter how old, would dare repeat. The audience was about half men and half women. I remember one of his stories. The rest I will not tell. He was both ridiculing and denouncing the orators who were proving to their own satisfaction that Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was unconstitutional. He said they reminded him of a very pompous but poorly equipped doctor who was called to see a little boy living with his grandmother. The old lady, after the doctor had made a very complete examination, said with anxiety: "Well, doctor, tell me the worst," and the doctor, resting his hands on his golden-headed cane, said solemnly and deliberately: "Madam, your grandson has such a severe irritation of the epidermis and such an inflammation of the epiglottis that it will be necessary to apply phlebotomy," whereupon the old lady grasped the boy frantically to her bosom, saying:

"Lor's sake, doctor, what on airth can be the matter if you are going to put all that on his bottom?" The old ladies laughed, the young ones blushed, and their escorts held themselves in as long as they could and then exploded.

When I first came to New York the princes of the banquet hall were William M. Evarts, Joseph H. Choate, Henry Ward Beecher, James T. Brady, and John R. Brady. All of them had the wonderful gifts of eloquence, lucidity, humor, and wit. They had the light touch by which in a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes they could give a thought worth preserving, so attractively put as to interest and not bore, and then illuminated it with the humor, enforced it with the story, and radiated it with the scintillation of wit which made the audience supremely happy for the hour and enabled them to carry home thoughts and ideas which were instructive and inspiring. While the occasions are as great, and while it may be that age has impaired, like myself, old men, I think the present does not equal the past, nevertheless I fail to find anywhere successors of equal rank with these brilliant talkers. The anecdote is very rarely heard now. It is a dangerous weapon, and unless short and with a snapper to it is apt to prove a boomerang for a speaker. And yet the most successful speakers in my time have been those who handled the story with skill. Tom Corwin could hold an audience which ran away even from so brilliant a speaker as Henry Clay. Lincoln's success in his early career in Illinois was because he made such effective use of anecdotes. A speaker has to decide whether he will have solid fame and large publication in the press and empty halls, or whether he will keep his audience and have his speeches little reported. McKinley urged me to speak in some of the Western States. I addressed an audience in a hall which seated over seven thousand people. A statesman of international reputation had spoken two nights before in the same place. His speech was printed in full in the local papers, and there were editorials advising everyone to read and preserve it as a most valuable contribution to the discussions of the campaign. The committee told me that before the statesman got through he had lost two-thirds of his audience. The next night, the same as on the previous occasion, every seat was occupied and the platforms and aisles jammed with people standing. I spoke for two hours, and with the vast material one gathers who has been a month or

more upon the platform, I illustrated the argument with stories, incidents, and such humor as I was capable of. Every time there was a laugh the people standing changed their positions and felt relieved and waited for another opportunity. When I closed no one had left the hall and the manager said it was the most successful meeting of the campaign. The local press the next day remarked that it was an enormous meeting, great enthusiasm, and Chauncey Depew spoke with characteristic humor, joke, and fun. Now, which would you rather be, the unsuccessful man before the audience as the statesman was, or have a beautiful time with your crowd and feel that you had accomplished something with those who listened?

The fame of the political speaker or the after-dinner orator is evanescent, but it has its compensations. Nothing gives such exquisite pleasure as appreciation and applause. That is the reason why veteran actors and actresses and great artists upon the lyric stage can never retire from the footlights. It is a luxury to speak at a place where you may not have been for fifty or forty or thirty years and have an old man come down with his grown-up son and his grandson to remind you that he has brought them to hear the speaker who pleased him in the long ago. He will recall the speech, but the only part of it he remembers is the story. That story he has been repeating to his family, under the horse shed attached to the country church and at the grocery, to enforce his argument for fifty or forty or thirty years. This proves the value of a story, and I might repeat what I have said in another speech, what Mr. Lincoln said to me, that he had found from experience that plain people are more easily influenced by a broad and humorous illustration than in any other way.

But there is another pleasure for a speaker which is not known to the successful lawyer who appears only in the courts, or to the successful man of business, or to those in any other occupation. It is the variety of his life and the different kinds of human nature with which he comes in contact. It is that broadening education of how people in different relations think and are likely to act upon given questions and solutions; but there is still a higher gratification, and that is the friends made in these excursions if the field is wide enough. No man ever made a successful public speech, or an appreciated patriotic address, or gave

a talk to the students at a university, or pleased the diners at a banquet, especially if away from home, that some one or more of his audience did not become a valued friend.

In summing up a life and what it gives which makes life worth living, the most valuable assets are these men and women throughout the country who, because you may have given them pleasure or a thought from you may have sunk deep into their minds and suggested a career, are thereafter on all occasions and in all places your advocates, defenders, and friends.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

SPEECH AT THE DINNER TO CHAIRMAN FRANK H. HITCHCOCK,
TREASURER GEORGE R. SHELDON AND MR. WILLIAM L. WARD,
OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, AT THE REPUBLICAN CLUB, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 3, 1908.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I am glad to join in this compliment to the field marshals of the Republican Party in the recent presidential campaign. We have had jubilant gatherings in honor of the candidates who have been elected by such signal majorities. Having paid tribute to those who have picked the plums, let us now do honor to those who shook the tree. Old Judge Grover, of our Court of Appeals, used to say that, when beaten by the Court, the only remedy for a defeated counsel was to go down to the tavern and curse the Court. It has become a habit if the party is defeated to charge the disaster to the mismanagement of the National or State Committees, and if the party wins to loudly acclaim that the victory was won in spite of the inefficiency of the National or State Committees. I have seen great corporations bankrupted under one management and rescued and placed upon a prosperous footing under another. It was wholly a matter of leadership and organization. It has been my lot to come in contact more or less intimately with the chairmen and other officers of our National Committees in every canvass since the Republican Party was organized. Success, in many instances, was due more to the genius of the chairman and the efficiency of his assistants than to any other cause. Anyone who remembers the fight of old Senator Zach. Chandler can recall the difficulties which he overcame. Hanna's marvelous success was due to the application to politics, by one of the greatest and most successful business men of the country, of the methods by which he had organized and carried forward the enormous business interests that he managed or controlled. In the matter of raising money and filling the war chest, he was prominent and none other could have so masterfully enforced the appeals for contributions. Hanna was aided by the fact that the

country was eagerly seeking methods of relief from one of the most disastrous and long-continued industrial panics in our history, a panic which was all against the party in power. Chairman Hitchcock organized his campaign on behalf of the party in power after an acute industrial panic and while its effects were felt in partial paralysis of capital and nearly one-third of the workers out of employment. He had of munitions of war, that is, money for literature, for speakers, for halls, for special trains, for the manifold expenses of a presidential canvass, less than a third of the usual amount. But with the instinct of a true leader he discovered the weak places and strengthened them, the doubtful territory, and energized it, and everywhere kept alive interest and hope. He had a great candidate and principles and policies which had always been successful in the promotion of prosperity. Yet there was against him the unknown and as yet unascertained quantity of a labor revolt led by the labor leaders. We meet here to-night to assign to him the great credit which is justly his due. The New Idea declares that the more valuable and strenuous are the efforts of a citizen for his party, the greater the violation of all proper rules for good government in giving him, no matter how competent, any share in the rewards of victory. Happily our President-elect believes in that kind of encouragement which is the inspiration of the Army and Navy and of every successful business. We hail the best equipped and most deserving man for the office in the country—Mr. Hitchcock, our next Post-master-general.

I have never known a treasurer of the National Committee who struggled with such serene confidence against almost insurmountable difficulties. Sitting on the empty treasure chest, he smiled upon the world as if it contained the wealth of Cræsus. Legislation had prohibited corporations from contributing, and it was mighty wise legislation which accomplished that result, but the National Treasurer had another difficulty and that was the prohibition of our candidate against the acceptance of contributions from anyone, however willing, who, directly or indirectly, was under the ban of Government prosecution. Yet he made those give that never gave before, and those who gave before gave the more. Now, how did he do it? He has absolutely refused to reveal the secret. An accident gave it to me. A few days since I met a Harvard classmate of his who told me

that Sheldon was the finest musician of his time in the university and for many years afterward. This friend said in a burst of enthusiasm, "His voice is as good as Caruso's. I have seen him sway a crowd of friends with a power equal to that of the greatest tenor on earth." None of us knew of this faculty of the National Treasurer. We have known of him as a successful banker and business man, but it never occurred to us that he was a great musician. Orpheus with his lyre captured the infernal regions and fiddled his wife out of hell, but Eurydice was not so closely barred in Hades as were American golden eagles in the pockets and safe-deposit vaults of the miserly and the scared. But Sheldon cornered the tightwads and sang to them "Salvation is free," and the purse-strings were untied. With the chairman and treasurer, we pay our compliments to the genial adviser of the committee, always on hand and at work, the National Committeeman from New York, William L. Ward.

While it is appropriate to chant the praises of the generals, a word should be said for the private soldiers. It is the workers in every election district, and in every town, who keep the party together and efficient. There are no off-days with them. There are no days in the year without some work. They are at the caucuses and primaries, they get out voters, they appeal to the doubtful, and in their sphere do proportionately more work than the great leaders. And yet their rewards are largely their own consciences and the gratification of victory. They are discredited as machine workers and are under the ban of the independent press and the political reformer.

On Thanksgiving Day, last Thursday, outside the villages, in the big houses on the hills were the prosperous men returning thanks for a victory which had insured the continuance and the enlargement of their business, and in the villages or at the tavern at the crossroads were gathered the humble workers also rejoicing in the victory. Many of the men on the hill, who vote only at presidential elections, have to be canvassed by these workers in order to get them to the polls. And yet at many such a table the remark was made, "The next necessary thing to do is to purify the party by cleaning out the nest in the village." The nest is in no danger, for these prosperous folk absorbed in their business will never attend a caucus or bother with the primaries in order to reach those whom they so vigorously denounce.

Except for the intelligent and trained efforts of these village and town nests the factories of their critics might be shut down and their hallelujahs turned to tears.

I think also from the big bouquets of the evening a few flowers should be taken and presented to the spellbinders. As Governor Hughes said in his excellent speech here the other night, there is a joy in meeting with people and discussing before them the issues of the campaign which far outweighs its fatigues. This is true of the candidate and of speakers of national reputation who can command great crowds from which there are responsive cheers for the speakers, but the ones upon whose lapel I would place a flower are the local orators who speak from the tail of carts in cities, from a barrel head in the village squares and in school houses whose capacity is less than three score, who ride not on special trains or in palace cars, but drive their horse attached to the old buggy through rain and snow and stop at ancient hotels, and whose names and remarks never receive that highest honor which the political speaker craves—headlines and columns in the newspapers. If by chance, because of his merit, he is invited to a big meeting in a great hall of some city, his effort may be the best of the evening, but it comes last, and at the end of the columns of the remarks of the candidate and the statesman are the few lines of his obituary, "Among others who spoke was John Smith, of Oak Hollow."

I remember an incident back in 1856. I had addressed a country audience, and an inhospitable one, and the chairman of the meeting, there being no hotels, asked me to be his guest. He took me to the country store which he owned and spread out on the counter crackers, cheese, grapes and beer and wanted to know if I had ever seen a better supper. Suddenly he exclaimed, "Young man, there is something lacking here." A brilliant idea had struck him, his face radiated and he remarked, "It is pie." Then he told me that the house across the road was where he lived, but there had been a disagreement with his wife and she took the inside and he the outside. He said, "I know where she keeps the pies. You watch the fence while I climb in the kitchen window, and if you see a light, holler." He got out safely. Tired and hungry, for I had eaten nothing since morning, that feast appealed to me as none of the best viands of the greatest restaurants of the world have even done since. Then we went

up to the loft of the store and on a corn-husk bed I slept the sleep of innocence and political patriotism.

The continuance of the Republican Party in popular favor is due to its ceaseless activities in behalf of measures which are not for campaign purposes, but for the permanent welfare of the country. No sooner has the election excitement subsided than the peace of the world, the prosperity of our Pacific Coast, tranquillity upon the Pacific Ocean, and the open door to the Orient are assured by the most masterful piece of statesmanship of this generation—the Japanese agreement made by Secretary of State Elihu Root.

The interests involved in revision of the tariff are strenuously battling before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives on behalf of the schedules affecting them, but behind and above all selfish interests looms large the mighty figure of the President-elect saying, "The pledges of our platform must be carried out."

We never have had such a candidate as Judge Taft. He talked with the American people not like a practiced speaker or a political orator, but as if he was delivering a charge to a jury. There never was a man on the platform who left with the people such a profound conviction of faith and trustfulness. The vast hosts who heard him saw in him the embodiment of prosperity based upon sound sense, mature judgment and trained executive ability. His courage was impressive, because not spectacular. No candidate ever had such temptation. From the high mountains which overlooked the industrial world two million votes were promised him if he would repudiate a decision he had made as a judge, but his answer that he would rather be defeated than impair in any way the strength or integrity of the courts of the United States, captured the judgment of the American people.

Since the suppression of the old-time debating societies in the colleges, young men come out into the world without the training for public speaking which was the privilege of the college man fifty years ago. The stump is the opportunity for the young lawyer. If he has genuine ability, he goes through a training which is invaluable in his practice. At the same time he makes acquaintances and produces impressions which give him clients. But many of these young lawyers do this work without any ambition other than the conversion of hearers to their political faith.

Many a young minister has found the political platform very helpful. He has learned more in one campaign of human nature, and to what appeals it is susceptible, than he could have discovered in any other way. The evangelist who lost his audience of men because in describing hell he said that it was full of automobiles, champagne, and chorus girls, had never been trained upon the political platform. To this army of volunteer speakers, full of enthusiasm, intensely interested in the matters which they discuss and believing they are doing the highest service to their country in making converts to their cause, we also send our greetings and thanks to-night.

RETURN FROM EUROPE

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM EUROPE, DECEMBER 24, 1893.

FOR the first time in many voyages across the Atlantic we seemed in imminent danger. Continuous storms, head winds and high seas were followed the last night by the hurricane in the channel, which suspended crossing from France to England for two days. This is something unknown to the oldest sailor. An American naval officer, who was hurled out of his berth and went on deck to investigate, told me that the ship was caught in a whirlpool, and he thought she would founder. But *La Gascogne* is an admirable sea-boat, and she was most skilfully handled.

I found the Russian fever still acute in France, and unbounded confidence in the fidelity and friendship of the Czar. The French say: "Russia is at daggers drawn with England in the East, on the Indian border, as we are also in the East at Siam. There our interests are mutual, and whatever cripples Great Britain helps us both. Russia has a tariff war and endless difficulties on the frontier with Germany, and fears her growing power. Whatever helps Germany hurts Russia, and whatever cripples Germany adds to Russia's opportunity and to ours for the recovery of our provinces and prestige. Russia and Austria are always on the eve of war over the Balkan States and the road to Constantinople, and Russia cannot fight the Triple Alliance without our assistance any more than we can without hers. So that our interests, our ambitions and our safety are identical. This is the condensation of a French statesman's expressions to me, and makes the Communist, as well as the Republican, cheer the autocrat.

I decided that after the strain and exhaustion of the trials and the anxieties of the year, rest of mind and nerves could only be had by the most violent and rapid change. But in leaving Paris so suddenly I missed an invitation from the Duc d'Aumale to visit Chantilly, the historic home of the great Condé, under whom my Huguenot ancestors fought. Selecting the fastest train and the most admired but one, of the Continental expresses,

I reached Rome, 800 miles from Paris, in thirty-four hours at a cost, including sleeping car, of 50 dollars. Engaging a local guide, a fast team and a good driver, and going continually from nine in the morning until dark, I did Rome in four days. Arriving at Naples at noon, I found a train leaving for Pompeii ten minutes after; caught it and did the City of the Dead that afternoon, and Naples and Vesuvius the next day. Returning to Rome in time for our Minister's—Mr. Potter—Thanksgiving dinner, I left there that night at half past twelve for Florence, arriving at six the next morning. By telegraphing ahead I secured a local guide and carriage, and did the town by dinner.

I left at nine that night for Pisa, arriving at twelve, and at seven the next morning was out for the leaning tower, the Cathedral and baptistry, which exhausts Pisa. I was off at nine a.m. for Genoa, and, again telegraphing for hotel people to look after my baggage, a guide and a good team to look after me, I easily saw all the sights of Genoa that afternoon. The next morning I was up betimes, and that night dined in Nice. Four days in Nice, and thirty hours to London, and a week there closed my vacation and ended my rest.

The universal complaint all over Europe is bad business. Nothing like it has ever been experienced. They all feel and look poor, and the number of unemployed is unprecedentedly large. Much of it is ascribed to the McKinley law, and its repeal or substantial modification seems their only hope. Every item of information relating to the progress of the Tariff bill and the changes proposed is cabled and eagerly read. Their interest in our politics, our public men, our material and social conditions is concentrated upon this measure. They cannot understand why it is that, the country having elected a President and Congress upon specific pledges and clear promises, a policy which was so fully and freely published before election is not immediately enacted into law.

Italy presents an object lesson upon the dangers which threatened us and which we now have escaped in the repeal of the silver purchasing clause of the Sherman law, and the far-reaching and permanent meaning of that action. They are having a financial crisis, mainly due to an irredeemable currency. Expenditures beyond their resources, and an army and navy large enough to meet the demands of the Triple Alliance, keep them poor, but

their currency destroys credit and cripples business. Their money fluctuates in value so rapidly that I only drew a little cash at a time for expenses. For my gold drafts the banker gave me in Italian money one day 15 per cent premium, another day 17 in the afternoon, but it was 19 in the morning. When I was leaving I received 20 per cent, and having drawn more currency than I wanted, I sold this Italian money in London one week afterward at a loss of 28 per cent. Gold has disappeared from the country, and silver is being hoarded or rapidly flowing away. One Ministry succeeds another, and falls again under the feverish anxiety for relief. Banks are tumbling, industries closing and populations starving. The country appears to be rushing toward revolution, or disintegration, or anything to escape the present ills. The irreconcilable relations between the Vatican and the Government greatly increase the perils of the situation.

"What is the solution?" I asked of an Italian statesman.

"Getting our currency on a sound basis, and reducing our navy and army," he answered.

"What is the solution?" I asked of a distinguished Catholic Bishop. His reply was: "The restoration of the temporal power of the Pope and readjustment of the Italian provinces."

"What is the matter?" I asked of a business man.

"Our money has no basis of value with the standards of the world, our army and navy cost more than we can pay, and our politicians are thieves," was his sardonic diagnosis.

And yet there is no better material in the world out of which to make a prosperous state than the Italians, as you find them at home. They are sober and industrious, peaceful and law-abiding and contented under very simple conditions, and economical to a degree unknown among us.

I felt perfectly safe on the railroads. The express train ran twelve miles an hour. I had to be home by Christmas so did not try the locals. As an experienced railway man I knew that there was no fear of overtaking anything for a rear-end collision, and one head-on would only result in a gentle jar. Labor is cheap and time is of no account. A bridge over a small stream near ancient Capua, where Hannibal's legions were demoralized by luxury, had broken down, landing a locomotive and two cars in a ravine. I passed over the bridge four days after the accident and again two days later.

The wreck was still in the ditch, undisturbed, but about a hundred women with their bright-colored shawls, carrying on their heads a half-bushel basket full of earth, were gayly tripping to and from the sandbank and the crevasse, filling it in. No steamshovel was there for the minimum of labor and the maximum of speed. The conditions so deplored by some recent writers on the sufferings entailed by inventions and machinery were thoroughly relieved.

During the World's Fair at Chicago the leading officers of all the European railways came here. They were provided with credentials from the Ministers of the Interior or of railroads of their respective countries, sometimes certified to be genuine by their Ambassadors at Washington. They used to file into my office, accompanied by their consuls in New York. We passed them to Chicago and return, sleeping-car and all, as did all the other lines. After paying four cents a mile for all my trip I thought I would test the Continental idea of reciprocity of courtesies. So I made myself known, and my destination. The officers met me at the station with warm protestations of their treatment in America, and extending their hospitalities. One franc to a porter would, under ordinary circumstances, have put my trunk on the car, but I could not give the special assistants assigned me by the management less than five francs each. Then I discovered that the courtesy consisted of reserving for me a first-class compartment, to be had alone, and my paying the usual fare and extras.

There is no relief for a tired brain like fun. A man, who has an eye for the ludicrous and a keen sense of humor gets more pleasure out of life than a wholly serious person ever knows. The wheels of a career in this work-a-day existence of us Americans run much easier and smoother when lubricated by a hearty laugh. A guide at the baths of Caracalla said to me in a rather grandiloquent way: "These baths, sir, cover over a hundred acres. You see their vast extent, and from the fragments of superb mosaic in the floors, and from the statues and columns you can judge of their magnificence and beauty. Sixteen thousand people could bathe here at one time. My countrymen, sir," he continued solemnly, "in the time of the Cæsars, were both cruel and clean. Alas! they are not now. That 'ole, sir, is a flue which led to the hovens which were 'eated by fires hunderneath. Through it came

the vapor for the baths. Your great intelligence, sir, will teach you that the vapor was 'ot. Through the first 'ole came the red 'ot vapor which made the Turkish bath, and the Turks got the hidea from my hancestors, sir. Through the second 'ole came the 'ot, tepid vapor, and that made the medium bath, and through the third 'ole came the 'ot frigid vapor, and that made the cold bath."

"Where did you learn English," I asked, and he answered: "By being courier for Hamericans."

My guide at Genoa was one of those phenomena that one often meets with. He had committed to memory enough English to explain objects of interest, but could not understand anything you said to him. After showing me the Doge's Palace and ancient palaces, streets and monuments, he said: "Now I will take you to the best thing we have—our cemetery."

"But," I said, "I don't want to go there. I do not wish to see anything later than Columbus's discovery of America."

"Yes," said he, "my lord will find the cemetery very fine."

"But," I shouted, "look here, old man, cemeteries make me sad and gloomy, and I am running away from that sort of thing, and will not go there."

"Yes, my lord," answered my impassive and imperturbable guide, with a sort of ancient mariner glare, "the driver is very slow." And in spite of protest and remonstrance he landed me inside the walls, and it was only his fee, not yet paid, which prevented his planting me there.

The cemetery is remarkable. There is a temple in the center and a circular colonnade like that outside St. Peter's at Rome, about half a mile long, on each side. Between the outer columns are vaults almost fifteen feet high, with recesses for the bodies, and the openings in the rear. On the front of the space selected by each family the best talent of Italy has sculptured in marble life-size figures of angels, of the deceased person, of whole families, and of allegorical groups. There are two of these temples and colonnades, and the artistic merit of these works is unequaled anywhere.

The financial depression has been ruinous to the hotels on the Continent, especially in Italy and on the Riviera. The World's Fair and the panic have kept Americans at home, and the English travel has fallen off over one-half. To meet this, the hotel people

adopt our railway methods of reducing expenses. But they carry it to a perfection that leaves us far behind. At one famous place the omnibusses of the ten hotels were waiting at the depot, but my companion and myself were the only passengers. We succeeded in escaping with our lives to our destined inn. It was a vast pile of stones, formerly a palace, and as large as the Fifth Avenue Hotel. The chill of the thick walls was little diminished in my room by what they called a stove, and I went to bed in winter flannels and stockings, and piled a steamer rug and overcoat on the blankets. My companion said: "They have been reducing expenses here, down to one waiter and one chambermaid, and the chambermaid is sick. I rang for a fire, and this man came in a blouse and built it. I rang for the porter, who is practically head clerk, and the same man appeared in gold lace cap and coat, and took the orders. I sent for my breakfast, and he served it in a dress suit. I tried to secure this lightning-change artist and bring him to New York, but the landlord said to part with him would bankrupt his establishment. The sick chambermaid was at the door as I left, however, and with outstretched hand.

I was invited to a fox hunt at Rome. Italians can do things which Englishmen and Frenchmen cannot and Frenchmen succeed where the English and Italians fail. But then the English do admirably what neither of them can. Horseracing and fox-hunting are English. To witness a French horserace is the funniest thing in the world, next to seeing an Italian foxhunt. The meet was on the Appian Way, and if St. Paul on his journey to Rome down that famous highway could have paused long enough to have witnessed it, the sad features of the great Apostle would have been radiant with smiles. The English master of the hounds attended strictly to business, and his horse went over the first stone wall, which was about four feet high, like a pigeon over a church steeple. Many of the meet also landed safely on the other side, but the majority balked. They cavorted around the field in splendid style and aroused the unbounded admiration of the ladies. The fox was not on their minds. One daring huntsman, after his horse, which was not a hunter, had refused the fence several times called his groom, and that resourceful helper twisted the animal's tail so that the intelligent beast did not leap, but calmly walked over the wall. The fox got away.

Rome has been described so many thousand times I shall not

attempt it. Every one said: "You cannot see it in less than four weeks, and then unsatisfactorily." I told my disgusted guide: "I have only four days, and in that time I must know all there is of the Eternal City worth knowing. I have seen twenty-seven miles of old masters; show me only twenty-seven of the best. I have reviewed more statues and busts than there are soldiers in the German Army; I will look at only twelve of the most celebrated. The excess you receive over your regular price will depend upon your ability to find just these and nothing more." After a few paintings and fewer statues, after glorious St. Peter and the wonderful churches, it is classical Rome which is the perpetual delight to the classical student. Actual contact with the scenes of tasks at the academy and studies at college made them living realities. One must be singularly devoid of imagination and sentiment who cannot, after a few days at Rome, feel at home with the Cæsars and in touch with the genius of Roman power and conquest. The narrow limits of the Forum make you wonder how from there the world was mastered and governed. A study of the dominant, fearless, intellectual and merciless features in the statues and busts tells the story of the subjugation of refined Greeks and unorganized barbarians by this able and ruthless race. Not more than 2,000 could have listened to Cicero from the old rostrum, and not more than 5,000 could have heard Marc Antony deliver his oration over the corpse of Julius Cæsar from the new one, and yet that speech moved the forces standing on the mosaic pavement of the Forum, and changed the map of the globe and the destinies of mankind. Within the diameter of less than a mile are the Forum, with the Courts of Justice and the popular assemblage, the temple where the people cast their votes, the House of the Senate whose decisions settled the fate of distant empires and peoples, the palaces of the Emperors whose caprices were the laws of half the population of the earth, and the Mamertine Prison, within whose deep dungeons, existing to-day just as when Jugurtha starved there, captive monarchs and generals, after having graced a Roman triumph, were left to die. If the Eternal City fills you with an overwhelming impression of the greatness of her power, the crystallized preservation at Pompeii equally astonishes you at the depravity, licentiousness, and brutality of her social life. Rascally cab-drivers and scampish guides besiege you at Pompeii. The whole surroundings of the

place are an organized swindle, but the city itself is very real and very wonderful. I shall not describe it, but it is supposed that all the inhabitants had time to escape, and most of those who perished were trying to gather and carry off their treasures. They were preserved by the burning ashes just as they fell. They all exhibit the intense agonies of their death. All but one. He was dead drunk, and was buried in the ashes of Vesuvius as he lay in dreamless stupor. The beery smile on his face is as full of Bacchanalian happiness as it was eighteen hundred years ago. The temperance lecture he preaches seems to be if you expect an eruption of a volcano and want to escape, keep sober. If you intend to stay and desire to die easy, drink deep.

It gives one a singular materialization of the dark ages to gaze at the tomb of Galileo at Florence and see the representation of the movement of the earth around the sun, engraved there a hundred years after his death, because not until then would Church or State admit the great discovery, and to stand under the swinging lamp in the grand old Cathedral at Pisa, which gave him the idea of the pendulum. I note that the first one he made, which was condemned for the falsehood it was supposed to teach, is now suspended in the same church from the same chandelier which inspired his genius.

I wanted, if possible, to see the Pope. I presented my letters, but was told that he gave no private audiences nor had he done so to laymen or private persons. His time and mind are necessarily too much occupied with the affairs of the Church all over the world, and it is only on the chance of becoming a member of visiting delegations or pilgrims that the traveler can see him. But the evening of the day my letter was sent the Bishop of Northern New York called to say that he would see me in private audience the next day at twelve. I requested the Bishop to accompany me, for I did not feel equal to carrying on a conversation, with my limited knowledge of the language. I regarded the present Pontiff as more progressive and more in touch with the spirit of various countries, and especially the United States, than any of his predecessors and thought the conversation might run upon difficult problems and delicate subjects.

The age of Michael Angelo and Raphael, idealized the grand and the spiritual on stone and on canvass beyond the conception of our prosaic times. Nothing could be more impressive than

the approaches in the Vatican to the pontifical audience-room. Staircases which are broad and high are very grand and effective, and the staircases of the Vatican are both broad and high. At each landing of these flights the Swiss Guard, in that wonderful harmony of bright colors, the uniform designed by Michael Angelo, presented arms. Then through many rooms and past many attendants in crimson liveries you come to the long succession of audience-rooms, in which those who have appointments can separately wait until those who have earlier engagements are seen and dismissed.

During the half hour I waited, His Holiness sent out a monsignor to entertain me. He was a charming man. He was up in art, archaeology, literature and politics, and the time flew rapidly. An attendant announced that I would be admitted in a few minutes, and then I asked the monsignor what would be the ceremonial for me. He said that the universal rule was for those presented to fall on their knees and kiss the Pope's hand and the Papal ring, but as my appointment was unusual, and I was a Protestant, he would inquire. The answer showed the exquisite tact of the Pope.

"The Holy Father," said the Monsignor, "directs that in your case the ceremony shall be precisely the same as if you had a private audience with the President of the United States."

As I entered the audience room the Pope rose and came half across the room, shook me cordially by the hand, requested me to be seated, and then resumed the Papal chair. With the memory of Mr. Gladstone, who is nine months his junior, in my mind, I studied him earnestly, especially in view of the reports of his great feebleness. He certainly is as vigorous as the English statesman. He had been in audience since eight o'clock in the morning, and it was then near one. The questions presented came from all parts of the world, and mainly on appeal to him. I was told by one of these delegates that the Pope took the paper he was reading out of his hands and read it himself without glasses. Nothing is more exhausting than a continuation of such interviews, as every man in authority knows. The Pope is very spare and thin. He has a keen, as well as high, intellectual face, of the Italian type, brilliant and expressive eyes, and a voice whose modulations as he talks indicate his feelings. He expressed in very complimentary phrase his pleasure at seeing me,

his knowledge of my position and life at home, and his hope that I would so enjoy the sights and treasures of the Eternal City as to carry away pleasant memories and visit it soon again. I told him that many thousands of the members of his Church were in the service of the company of which I was president, and it would be a great gratification to them, when I returned, for me to be able to tell them of the head of their Church, whom they so profoundly revered. In a few minutes we were in the midst of an earnest and instructive discussion of property, its rights and duties, of capital and labor, and employers and employees. I said to him that America differed from all other countries in the opportunities which it offered for men to rise. There were few inherited fortunes and practically nearly all our men of property had made their own careers and money. Many of them were immigrants who had come to us poor. The fact that there was opportunity for brains, enterprise, energy and character, and that its rewards were safe and secure under our institutions and laws, was the incentive of our marvelous national progress and greatness; that his encyclical upon that subject was in accord with the opinion of the American people, and I had made it the text of an address a year ago to a body of Catholic students at a Catholic college.

Then came a splendid exhibition of the "old man eloquent." The Pope pressed to the front of his chair grasping the arms and presented the appearance and vivacity of fifty, instead of eighty-five. He spoke for nearly ten minutes, and in clearness, directness, force and fervor, it was one of the most glowing and impressive utterances to which I ever listened. It is a misfortune that it could not have been taken down as spoken, but any report would have lacked the fire and magnetism of its delivery. A statement of its meaning does not do it justice, but in substance it was this: That in his encyclical he had stated nothing new. The principles laid down had always been the doctrine of the Church. The times, however, with the troubles existing and growing more acute everywhere, demanded that they be again taught and enforced. The right of a man to his lawfully acquired property had always been recognized. It was at the basis of the social system and individual rights. But the possession of wealth imposed corresponding obligations. The rich man failed in the administration of a trust who did not recognize these

duties, and the poor on their part should recognize in reciprocal spirit those who met their obligations. All should work harmoniously to mitigate and relieve differences of opportunity or ability or station. Labor and capital are indispensable to each other. Labor has rights which capital must not ignore, and, when equitably treated, labor must also recognize the rights of capital. Employers should so treat employees that the employee would be bound in honor and affection to do his best for his employer. Society was a failure, and the Church came short of its mission unless there was the fullest exercise and most unquestioning submission to the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of man. We all came from the same Heavenly Father, and all, whatever our conditions and circumstances in this world, stand equal before him and are equally accountable to Him for ourselves, and our conduct toward our neighbors.

He made many inquiries about America. I told him that it was fortunate that at New York, which in the conspicuousness of everything that happens there stands in the same relations to the rest of the country as London does to Great Britain or Paris to France, he had as the representative of himself and the Church so able and scholarly a prelate, and so public-spirited a citizen as Archbishop Corrigan. He impressively blessed a few simple articles of piety I had with me, to gladden the Christmas or New Year's of some Catholic friends, and they will have the unusual satisfaction of knowing that every one of them was touched by the Pontiff's hand. I was afraid of wearying him after his long session, and rose to go. He also rose and took my hand, and said that he had the profoundest respect, admiration and love for the United States, and wished I would so tell the American people, and that he was much impressed with our World's Fair and had done what he could for it. He was much pleased with the interview, and gratified to have learned from many sources that I was always fair, kind and considerate for the employees of our companies, and he wished especially to thank me that I had never made any discrimination against those of the Catholic faith, and also to express his gratification at what I had told him about Archbishop Corrigan. This ended, for me at least, a memorable meeting with one of the most remarkable men of our time.

It is singular that the persons who to-day command most of the attention and exercise the greatest influence should have far

passed the allotted period of life—Gladstone, Leo XIII, and Bismarck. He sent a message subsequently requesting to see me again, but when I received it I was far on my way home and could not return.

The Vatican looks to America with more interest and attention than to the Old World. The rapidly growing power of Socialism and Anarchy is undermining the authority of the Church and destroying religion itself on the Continent of Europe. Rome looks upon America as its great field and opportunity for the future.

Mr. Potter, the American Minister to Italy, whose relations with the Government to which he is accredited are more than ordinarily cordial, sent me a message that the King would be happy to see me in private audience if I could wait until Monday. That meant five days more in Rome, and an ironclad date of return for my short holiday made it impossible for me to remain. I deeply regretted missing the opportunity. King Humbert has the most difficult problems before him of any ruler in Europe, and all parties in the Italian Parliament admit that no one could meet the delicate and difficult situation with more patriotism, energy and ability than does the King.

While at Nice I visited the famous gambling establishment at Monte Carlo. It is the only one now left, and ought by common consent to be extirpated. Of all the beautiful places along the Riviera none is so picturesque and lovely as Monte Carlo. With what man has added to the gifts of nature, it is an earthly paradise disguising an earthly hell. The charming walks are so picketed with guardians that you are never out of sight of one of them. It is their business to see that no one commits suicide there. Men and women, mad over losses and disgrace from the results of the Monte Carlo gaming tables, kill themselves every day; but all the resources of the management are exercised to induce them to betake themselves somewhere else for self-destruction. As I entered the splendid hall where the tables are, a despairing looking man at the door was shaking an empty purse, in the vain effort to find in it another coin. He was a capital exhibit for the place. Around every one of the many tables was an anxious crowd, and as the game only occupied about two minutes, money was flying over the green cloth with lightning speed, and generally into the hopper of the dealer. I did not care

for the veterans who sat there figuring out the combinations which were to beat the game, but always ended in bankrupting the gambler. It was these who were drawn into the vortex, first by the temptation and then by a suddenly developed passion for play. The most pitiable were fresh young women, who in their mad eagerness to make up losses were becoming familiar acquaintances with the vilest scoundrels in Europe. Next and easily discernible, were the men who were risking not only fortune, but honor and liberty, in throwing after their own lost wealth, or competency, trust funds or the money of their companies or employers. One solid-looking business man, after watching the game, put a considerable sum on one of the figures which return thirty-odd times if it ever wins, and he picked up several thousand dollars profit. He tried half a dozen times to go away, but when he got as far as the door something drew him back to the table. When I left he was nervously fingering his money, and absorbedly watching the whirling ball. Ere this there has been a failure or a defalcation and a suicide.

"What do you do," I said to an attendant, "to mitigate these evils?"

"We build churches," was the grim reply, and one of cathedral dimensions is going up within sight of the gorgeous den. Blanc, who had the concession from the Prince of Monaco, fearing the suppression of the concern, capitalized it at an enormous sum in a company, and sold the stock in London, Paris and Berlin. The rank and importance of the stockholders are the protection of the crime. The stock pays seventeen per cent.

All business in England is very poor. There never were so many unoccupied houses in London, and cottages at Brighton are letting at less than half prices. "No opportunity for the sale of American securities here," says the banker. But bankers' opinions, as a rule, are for the day, and change rapidly. There are two Englands—the business and the investing. The world is creditor to investing England by ten thousand millions of dollars, and the income of this vast sum will seek American securities which are good. Besides, the troubles on the Continent are filling London banks with French, German, Russian, Austrian and Italian moneys, to be put in good bonds, and the bonds hid, as well as securely kept, in London vaults.

Politics are in transition and doubt, and the Tories are defy-

ing Mr. Gladstone to dissolve and go to the country, believing that on Home Rule and the general depression, they can come again into power. He is waiting for other and more popular issues for Great Britain. In the meantime the romance and the tragedy of the coal strike become an important but an unknown factor. Three hundred and fifty thousand coal miners were out on a strike for three months. Coal which sells for family purposes at about \$5 a ton went up to \$15 a ton and proportionately for factory uses. The miners' federation spent the million dollars they had accumulated, and the mine owners made enormous sums by selling their stocks at these exorbitant figures. The price of coal stopped many industries, and over four hundred millions of dollars were lost. Government was appealed to, and Mr. Gladstone, with rare sagacity, said that while this was a national calamity, it was not within the authority of the Ministry, but he would offer them Lord Rosebery as arbitrator and the Foreign Office for a meeting place. The genius which enabled Lord Rosebery to govern with such matchless skill the unruly and antagonistic spirits of the County Council, was again superbly demonstrated. An equal number of owners and miners met and Rosebery was chairman. The result was the resumption of work and a path for settlement. The event has determined the succession to Mr. Gladstone in the leadership of the Liberal Party for Lord Rosebery, and possibly the fate of the party itself, at the next election.

Mr. Gladstone is a greater marvel than ever, both to friends and foes. His voice has returned with its former volume and flexibility. He rules and moves the House of Commons at will. Night after night "the old parliamentary hand," at eighty-four, baffles and defeats his host of younger and most able adversaries. "He never was so adroit, so tactful, so invincible," said one of them to me. "Half of us," said another bitterly, "have the influenza and have been at death's door, but for him it was only a bilious attack and a pill." A distinguished lady, who met him at dinner within a month, said she had known him intimately for thirty years, and that in volume of information, felicity of phrase, vigor of expression, charms of manner—in a word, in all that makes the incomparable Gladstone—he fairly surpassed himself. On one of the worst and darkest of London nights recently, he came out from a dinner at 11:30, and, to the aston-

ishment of his host, suddenly disappeared in the gloom for a walk to Downing Street. It was nearly three miles, through lonely parks and lonelier streets and lanes, and in the general distress of London footpads are abroad. But to the great relief of every one, the Grand Old Man got home without encountering sandbaggers or garroters and was more vigorous than ever from his exercise.

I met Mr. Bayard, our Ambassador in London, and was sorry that I could not accept his invitation to dinner. He is a success. He has what Englishmen like, an ancestral connection with the position, through his grandfather and the training of the State Department.

RETURN FROM EUROPE

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM EUROPE, SEPTEMBER 15, 1895.

WE arrived at Southampton just in the finish of a stormy election. We had a smooth passage over. In fact, the vessel sailed like a pleasure yacht on a smooth lake, but we emerged into the ruffled sea of English politics at a pretty stormy time. One thing that struck me in connection with the Englishmen on this trip was the great advance of American customs in England. Talk about Americans trying to imitate the English! It's the other way. They are adopting our customs with the greatest celerity. They aver that we have already ruined their weather. Five years ago when I went abroad the London newspapers wrote me courteous letters asking me to appoint a time, convenient to myself, when a representative might call and converse with me about questions of the day. This was supplemented by a polite offer to submit proofs before publication. Three years ago reporters called and sent up cards, but asked few questions, principally concerning American securities. This year the steamer landed at five o'clock in the morning. At six o'clock I went to breakfast. I found a reporter standing by my chair, and he asked me in a way that made me think of home, "Are you Chauncey M. Depew?" I told him I was. Then he said that he wanted a column interview, and plunged into a myriad of questions concerning English elections, finance and securities, policies of parties and so on. It was impossible not to respond to a touch of home like that. After he had asked me about everything under the sun he said tersely, "Much obliged," and shot off without any suggestions of proofs or promise of accuracy.

Many of the English papers have taken more to illustration and cartoon lately. Those pictures in *The Westminster Gazette* during the election showed a remarkable development of English humor, and are worthy of a Nast, a Bush, or a McDougal.

My interview was published more or less in all the English papers, and in one respect the result was interesting. This was

the development of the American in London with social ambitions. The interview gave the Anglomaniacs an opportunity, and they improved it in the press, the drawing-room and at dinner. One of the questions asked me was what was the American idea of Home Rule, and what was the general mind of the Americans upon that subject. My answer was substantially that Home Rule is the cornerstone of our institutions, and our people are practically unanimous on the subject; that there had never been any division among us as to home rule for Ireland, and that we could never understand the real or manufactured fear that the adoption of the policy would lead to the disruption of the British Empire. On the other hand, we thought the adoption of the federative principle would benefit England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales and the Colonies; that we were heartily in favor of the English-speaking people leading the world, and willing that the British Empire should have the first place in the affairs of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia, but that we would neither consent to nor permit the control or the occupation by any European Power of the struggling Republics of America.

Of the six hundred members of the House of Lords, all but twenty-five are Conservatives. Society is overwhelmingly the same. "I never had a Radical as a guest in my house," said a proud peer to me, and while this rule is not general, the feeling is. Americans in London become attached to the dominant party, and some of them are more extreme even than its leaders. Their views on Home Rule and ideas concerning the Irish are refreshing revelations of the influence of environment. They wrote letters to the papers vigorously denying my statements. According to their letters I was either grossly ignorant of American sentiment or else a phenomenal liar. They said that beyond the politicians and political papers controlled by fear of the Irish vote, all there is in our country which represents its intelligence, its learning, its business, and its society, is opposed to Home Rule and in cordial sympathy with the Tory ideas and principles. A charming lady friend who is a wonderful success socially said to me: "For heaven's sake, stop talking! Everybody over here who is anybody is on the other side, and you will be tabooed."

I asked her how she answered the frequent questions concerning American sentiment toward Home Rule. She said that

she told them that outside of politicians everybody was against Home Rule, and even the politicians did not believe in it, but had to be ruled by the fear of the Irish vote. Then I asked her how she got over the position of American papers, and she replied by saying that all reputable ones reflect the same views. Other Americans in London said the same thing to me, and said that talk of the kind injured the position of Americans in England. This argument stirred up quite a breeze, and finally *The Westminster Gazette* sent a man to "interview" me "down to the ground," as he put it.

The interview filled two of the broad columns of that paper, and made the longest contribution of the kind as yet published in the English papers. I reiterated what I had said, and supplemented it by saying that the daily and weekly press of America, so far as I knew, without a single exception, had editorially supported Mr. Gladstone and his measure; that many of the State Legislatures had passed resolutions urging its adoption, and that the House of Representatives by a unanimous vote had received Mr. Parnell. Now, our English kinsman loves frankness and fair play. He is an intense partisan and a born fighter, but he has too good an opinion of himself to foster any imitation of himself from another country. He does not care for Anglo-Americans, or Anglo-Frenchmen, or Anglo-Germans or Anglo-Italians. He does like genuine representatives of any people, and is most hospitable to them in his home and family. Certainly, I did not suffer any of the fearful consequences predicted for telling the truth.

"Why is Gladstone like a harp struck by lightning?" was a conundrum propounded to me. I had to give it up, and my interlocutor startled me when he said, "Because he is a blasted lyre." This fairly illustrates the feeling which even the overwhelming triumph of the Conservatives has not tempered. The average English man or woman will discuss any question of religion or politics, creed or faith, persons or people, books or pictures with absolute impartiality bordering on indifference, but mention Home Rule, and in nine cases out of ten you are whirling around in the bewildering epithets of a dancing maniac. Substitute for the two words "Home Rule" Mr. Chamberlain's creative phrase, "Local self-government," and you have with you a philosophic friend. They give you on the Rhine steamers Jo-

hannisberg or Steinberger Cabinet, or whatever kind of cheap table wine you want, although they have only one kind. They stick on the label after you give your order. So in politics, it is more often a matter of label than contents, and phrase is sometimes stronger than principle.

A Conservative leader said to me: "We have won a great and rather embarrassing fight without making a pledge or a promise. We had no platform and no affirmative principles. We simply assailed the incompetency of the Liberal Government." While the Conservative element is safely in power for six years to come, the Liberal-Unionist is already making it rather uncomfortable for his Tory partner. A large programme for local self-government throughout the United Kingdom, for a broad scheme of State socialism or paternalism, and plans more or less vague for the benefit of what they term the "laboring classes," are maturing in the restless brains of Mr. Chamberlain and his friends, and disturbing the rest and comfort of the true Conservative. An American lady, the wife of a moss-covered Tory, asked me to tell her what was the difference between a Radical and a Conservative. She said that she heard only one side. I told her that she could differentiate them on this generalization: The British Conservative wants everything to remain as it is, no matter how bad it may be, and the Radical wants everything changed, no matter how good it may be.

Our enlarged Navy, our recent collision with the British Foreign Office over Nicaragua and Venezuela, our increasing interest in foreign affairs and the possibility of an Administration that will enforce the Monroe Doctrine have created a new and unusual interest in the affairs of the United States. This is evinced by the London *Times* appointing Mr. Smalley its special representative in this country, and printing several columns a week of his cables. The statesmen of both parties would like an offensive and defensive alliance with us. They want our help in China and Japan, and the difficulties arising out of French, Russian, German and Turkish hostilities in the East. They would gladly bundle all American matters into our hands in exchange for such an understanding. The strength of the Tories is in the cities, and hence their power is felt most there.

The Tories have no prohibition or temperance or reform fads or faddists, and the powerful liquor and saloon interests

are solidly with them. The London districts which return members of Parliament have about five times as much population and five times as many voters as the Irish districts, and the one uppermost idea in every Conservative that you meet is to minimize Irish power in Parliament by taking away twenty-three seats from Ireland and giving most of them to London. In a sense this tremendous growth of cities, while the country stands still or decreases in population, is the same difficulty which our New York Constitutional Convention tried to settle by preventing the cities of New York and Brooklyn from having a majority of State Senators. While Ireland's population has run down from 8,000,000 to 4,000,000, London's population has increased from 2,000,000 to 6,000,000.

The English elections were remarkable in demonstrating how little there is of radicalism in the democratic spirit there. "What 'ave the bloody Radicals hever done for us except to make us lose our jobs by shutting hup the great places with their death duties and the like?" I heard a gardener on a country place say to a coachman; and both voted the Conservative ticket. Disendowment and disestablishment of the Church by the State seem in accord with modern progress, but from the text, "The Robbery of God," every pulpit in the United Kingdom thundered against the Liberal Government, and thousands who never went to church and scoffed at religion rallied to the support of the time-honored establishment. Any measure can pass the House of Lords when the Conservatives are in power, and none when the Liberals have the Government, so long as hereditary majorities exist; and yet Lord Salisbury directly challenged the cry for ending or mending the House of Lords by filling his Cabinet with peers two weeks before election in order triumphantly to show that all classes of Englishmen love a lord and are overwhelmingly in favor of this Middle Age anomaly in representative government. A large number of members elected are heirs of peers or members of the families of the nobility.

The excitement in South Africa gold mines equals the wildest excitement and speculation in Colorado or California in booming times. Both London and Paris are crazy. One of the best informed bankers in Europe told me that within one year one hundred men had pocketed in cold cash, from the sale of the stock or shares of the companies, the enormous sum of \$500,000,000.

The money has come from the confiding British public and the usually cautious French. Forty millions of it was won by a man who went to the Cape as a juggler in a circus and is now rapidly climbing the social ladder. The stocks are constantly rising in price, and of course in capitalization, and within a short time the bubble will be scattering ruin more widely than has been felt for a generation.

After leaving London I went to Luchon, in the Pyrenees, where some of my family were staying. I sent a telegram for Luchon to the office of the Government telegraph in London to have it sent back with the statement that there was no such place in Europe. When I told this to some French friends they said it was another instance of the hereditary and ineradicable hatred of the English against the French, for Luchon was the third largest watering place in their country.

Luchon reminded me more of Saratoga than any other place that I visited abroad, except the hotels, which are not Saratogian to a great degree. The Pyrenees are more picturesque than the Alps. The splendid roads which exist everywhere in France enable one to drive to the foot of the glaciers or to where the melting ice on the peaks sends a torrent down a sheer descent of hundreds of feet with superb effect. The mountain peasant farms above the clouds and cultivates every available patch of ground.

I doubt whether such simple and primitive lives are passed anywhere else on earth. Every little village has its church, and the pastor is one with his flock. I saw him, as I was driving by, harness himself to a load of hay with a cow to help a farmer get it in out of an impending storm. And dull and stupid as the peasant is, yet he was too smart for two American friends of mine. Attracted by a melody played under their window they found on inquiry that the plaintive and pathetic notes came from the pipe or a peasant who led his flock past the hotel every morning. They went to him and asked him if he would sell the pipe. He said he would part with it for five francs. They asked him if he could get another one like it for them. He said that he thought he could, and, while they watched his sheep, he crossed the street into a store and soon came out carrying two pipes. He sold one to each of them for five francs. One of my friends became curious, and went over into the

shop and inquired how many of these pipes were to be had. The tradesman replied that several hundred were in stock, and a question as to the price revealed the fact that one franc was all they sold for. My chastened countryman came forth and with sympathetic feelings listened to the shepherd play his plaintive air as he strolled with his flock.

The singular political event in Paris has been the sudden disappearance of the Royalist and Imperial parties. A Royalist, in giving me his version of the matter, said that the fear of Socialism had made his people Opportunists, which is another name for Conservative Republican, and by common consent they had voted that ticket. He also said that M. Faure was the most popular and strongest President since the formation of the Republic. He has more courageously and ably fought the Socialists than any public man dared to do, and in the last election almost annihilated them.

I was in Germany on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the victory of Sedan. The celebration reminded me of the rejoicings with us after the surrender at Appomattox. Palace and cottage, store and residence, were alike covered with flags, and the bunting obscured the sky. Processions, music, illuminations, and every form of popular joy was universal. The enthusiasm was wild and contagious. It developed a deep-seated national and almost passionate desire for war with France now, and any pretext would be taken to settle forever the possession of Alsace and Lorraine, and so cripple the French that they would no longer be a menace to the peace of Germany, so that her military establishment might be reduced.

The general verdict on the International Railway Congress was that our representatives were hospitably received and entertained by their British brethren, but learned nothing from Europe which would be useful in America. They have adopted our air-brake, but look with distrust upon the automatic coupler. They prefer to have a man go between the cars and by slowly turning a screw bring the cars together. It takes just five times as long for them to make up a train their way as it does for us to make one up. The racing between the rival lines running north has led to their making some remarkable speed within the last month, but taking into consideration the weight of the train, the number of miles run, the stops made, and the interrupted continuance of the

service for years, the Empire State Express still holds the prominence. The English flyers weigh about 130 tons, while the Empire State weighs 290 tons. And after all I think we sort of opened their eyes with that trip to Niagara Falls the other day. That is a pretty fair mark for them to shoot at.

The Government controls the French railroads, and is quite proud of its "train de luxe," which leaves Paris twice a week for the Pyrenees. It is the best equipped and the fastest that they have. From Paris to Luchon is only a few miles different from New York to Buffalo. My boy and I tried it. We had 170 pounds of baggage and two berths on the sleeper. The berths were single. They have no double berths. The fare, including the berths and extra luggage, was \$78. The time taken for the run was sixteen hours. The New York Central makes the same trip in ten hours at a cost of \$23 to the passenger.

Being near Lourdes while in the Pyrenees, I paid a visit to that world-famous shrine. The village church stands on a high hill, and on one side is a precipice running down to the river, about two hundred feet. At the bottom is a grotto, such as is common to the rocks of that country. It was about one hundred feet deep and irregular, and rough in shape. The legend of the place is that in 1858 the Virgin appeared to a child in this grotto with a promise of healing for the sick and a fountain burst forth, the waters of which have miraculous power. Faith in this has built highways along the river and over the hills for the pilgrims to tramp over, constructed two splendid roads from the plain to the church, inclosing within their arches a broad plaza, and under the final landing a basilica for the thousands of worshippers. Every foot of the walls of the basilica and church are covered with slabs on which the persons placing them there have recorded some cure or special blessing received there. Over and around the grotto hang thousands of crutches and surgical appliances for supporting the body which have been left there by the healed. Alongside the grotto is a bathing place, with four bathtubs, filled with ice cold water from the spring. Into this the patients are plunged, no matter what their disease or deformity may be. It was told me that over twelve hundred were dipped the day that I was there. They remained in the water only a moment. While they are being bathed constant and loud supplications for their healing are made.

At night the sights and scenes are wonderful. Thousands carrying torches and singing hymns are marching over the winding roads. Other thousands are on their knees in the space in front of the grotto praying, singing and imploring the Virgin for help. Hundreds upon hundreds of candles flicker and flare in the grotto and throw a weird light upon the white-robed statue of the Virgin which stands just above. In the afternoon a vast procession forms at the grotto and marches along the river; turning into the plaza it passes the point where the road rises from the plain on the arches to the church. On one side of the plaza were placed some hundreds of little wagons, each containing an incurable sufferer. The sight of these helpless, and except by miracle, hopeless men, women and children in every stage of physical distortion or living death is affecting beyond the power of words to express.

As the head of the procession reached the first wagon, the priest elevated the Host before the patient. Another priest with great depth of lung cried out: "Oh, Lord, help this sick one!" The hundreds of priests and 5,000 pilgrims echoed the cry in unison. Again the leader with tremendous passion and energy would cry out: "Oh, Lord! heal this sick one." The crowd would take up the cry as before, and a deep roar of invocation would go up to Heaven. As the procession marched down the line, halting before each little wagon and continuing the supplication, the excitement became painful in its intensity. The patients grew frenzied with anxiety and hope. The coolest and most indifferent man in the world could not have remained unmoved. I have seen and felt similar waves of emotion at camp-meetings and revivals, but they had not the added force of this writhing mass of praying, beseeching, despairing and hoping human suffering.

As I was crossing the plaza after this scene, from one of the little wagons I heard my name called. It was occupied by a lady and was drawn by her son, a student at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York. Both had recognized me, having heard me speak in New York. She told me that the physicians at home had told her that science and skill could do nothing for her and that she must make herself as comfortable as possible for a few months, as the end was shortly to come. So she had come to Lourdes with faith and hope. I asked her the cause of

her hope, and she replied that a miracle had been performed that afternoon, and that was what caused all the excitement, and asked me if I had not seen it. This was her story:

A young girl who stayed at the same hotel that she did had been unable to walk or put her foot to the ground for six years. She suffered frightful pain and screamed with agony when dipped in the ice water. She had been dipped six successive days, and after the procession had passed her on that day she called out that she was cured. I asked the medical student what he knew of it. He said that he had seen the knee bandaged at noon; it was badly swollen and he counted twenty-eight running sores. The pilgrims were mobbing the verification rooms to which she had been taken after her cure. I told him that I must see that girl. The attendants were doing their best to get the crowd away. My friend with New York audacity, called out: "The distinguished Dr. Chauncey M. Depew to see the patient," and in a few moments we were inside. The girl was not there, having been carried away. There was an English physician there, and I appealed to him. He said that he had dressed the leg at noon. It was swollen, exuding sickening matter, and incurable; that a half-hour before we came in he had cut the bandage off the leg, and it was cured. The bandage was about two feet long and had been slit with a knife from top to bottom.

I still insisted that I must see that girl. At eight o'clock that evening my student friend came to the hotel with word that the family of the girl were willing that I should see her. My son and I started off instantly. I found her a girl of seventeen years, with a sweet, innocent, happy face. She told her story substantially as I had heard it and said that she had been unable to walk a step in six years. I asked her if she could walk now, and she went several times around the room, limping some, but with no apparent pain. I ventured to request a sight of the knee. It seemed quite normal. The flesh and muscles were firm and natural. Black spots marked the places where the running sores had been, but the sores were healed, and healthy skin, not scabs, covered them.

I have little faith in modern miracles, but this case puzzled me. Of course, the weak point, so far as I am concerned, is that I did not see her before the cure was effected. The testimony, however, of the New York medical student, of his mother, and

of the English doctor was clear and positive. They might have been deceived or tried to deceive me, though neither seems probable. For many years on my return from Europe I have had something of interest to tell, but certainly this is the most remarkable thing that I have yet had to narrate, and I leave it with you just as I found it and left it.

The general cheerfulness and gayety of the nations made this trip one of the most pleasant of my life. Both in England and on the Continent there is prosperity and an abundance unknown for years. Not only are the crops good, but the world has adapted itself more readily than for a decade to the revolutions of invention and discovery and the instantaneous communion of distant markets. All classes of people are sharing in the better times and are more hopeful of the future. Many, even sovereigns and chiefs of state, who formerly were politely inquisitive or indifferent about American affairs are now eager in their desire for information about our stocks and bonds. The success of the syndicate in placing the last issue of our Government bonds has put in many a royal treasury a miscellaneous collection of American securities. The bold stand taken against the silver sentiment has reassured the British and American securities abroad are now rated gilt-edged.

RETURN FROM EUROPE

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM EUROPE, AUGUST 23, 1900.

The reason Europe is so interested in our election is that trade follows the flag, and Europeans do not want us to assert ourselves. Every nation in Europe which sends its goods into the markets of the world realizes that in America it has a competitor for trade that it cannot successfully combat. Our machinery and other products are in demand the world over, owing to merit and workmanship, and every nation that manufactures goods to compete with us does not want to see us expand. Four years ago all Europe wanted to see McKinley elected, because they believed that the election of Bryan meant a repudiation of obligations and a depreciation of the value of money. This does not worry them now. Most of the American securities formerly held abroad have come back to pay Europe's bills, and the balance of trade is in our favor. Now Europe wants to see Bryan elected because Europe believes that he will be against expansion, and consequently will throttle any competition from American manufacturers and producers in the markets of the world.

Nineteen hundred is a very gratifying year for an American abroad. One of the phenomena of the close of the nineteenth and the opening of the twentieth century is the position our country has taken in two years. Before 1898 no ruler or minister in Europe was interested in American opinion or action. Now the situation is the reverse. Every cabinet reckons the attitude of the United States in formulating plans. Every European nation finds its production enormously in excess of its consumption of manufactured articles. Asia and Africa are the markets. The possession of them or access to them is the sum of Old World diplomacy, operations, and armaments. The excellence and in many cases the superiority of our goods, the energy of our traders, and the cheapness of our transportation are exciting alarm. This is evident on the Continent, but not in Great Britain. English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh of all classes are intensely cordial to America and Americans. The taking of one-half of the

British war loan in New York at nearly one per cent. less than London offered amazed Lombard Street. It put thinking caps on financiers everywhere. If New York is to be the financial centre of the world, and our surplus money is for loan cheaper than it can be had elsewhere, the event is of greatest consequence on both sides of the Atlantic. The policy and traditions of centuries are upset, and Old World bankers must go to school. If the governments of the Continent saw any way to check our advance, they would adopt it. I heard more discussions, and intelligent ones, as to our home conditions this summer than in twenty years before. The Powers are so nicely balanced that our position on Eastern questions is of vital importance. The one question is, What will the United States do in China, and afterward in the Orient? There is no disposition to forcibly prevent our entrance on an equal footing into China and the East, but tremendous anxiety for us not to press the subject, and especially not to push our products in competition with theirs among the people of Asia.

The United States exhibit at the Paris Exposition is very impressive. It is a remarkable showing of what we have done and the possibilities of development. We will have the largest number of medals and honorable mentions. The fair itself has been grossly misrepresented. It is one of the best industrial exhibitions yet given. The French are very hospitable and perfectly fair. There is not a sign of injustice, even when their own products are in the competition, and there can be no well grounded complaint of the awards of the judges. The American athletes carried off three-fourths of the prizes, and the majority of the judges were Frenchmen. It was an inspiring sight at the dinner given them by Commissioner-general Peck to see the modest manly fellows from our colleges. They represented an exhaustless supply of American grit, pluck and manhood.

We are too new for our foreign friends to catch on to all our national creeds. The band in one of the restaurants at the Exposition, where I was lunching, played the "Marseillaise," and the French cheered; then "The Watch on the Rhine," and the Germans applauded, and so on through the hymns of all nations. Finally, I sent in a fee and request for them to play the national anthem of the United States. After several minutes' consultation they gave us "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-Night." A few

bands can play "Yankee Doodle," but I do not believe one has the music of "The Star Spangled Banner."

I was in Paris on July 14, the Fourth of the French Republic. There was a review in the Bois de Boulogne in the morning of an army division of thirty thousand men by President Loubet. The Fourteenth in Paris the street crowds call their day, and they may deal roughly with those riding in carriages. They call them aristocrats or plutocrats. One family I knew had their coachman knocked off the box, but the police rescued them just as their carriage was being overturned. My boy was in a cab, with the courier on the box with the driver. Two on the box was surely a sign of wealth. The mob gathered, shouting, "This is no place for capitalists!" but the driver turned quickly and sharply down a bypath and escaped. The entire possessions of this cabload of capitalists—the courier, the driver and the boy—would not have purchased beer for the crowd. On the other hand, several friends rode half the night through good natured crowds dancing madly on the asphalt pavements, and only exchanged a little chaff and a cheer for the Republic.

The Government celebrated the day by a gala performance at the Grand Opera House, which, through the courtesy of our Ambassador, General Horace Porter, I had the opportunity of attending. The President, Cabinet, Senate, Deputies and high officers of the army and navy and the diplomatic corps, all with the ladies of their families, made up the audience. It was a very brilliant affair, but very different from our method of observing the Fourth of July. The authorities have bands in all the squares, and the people dance. Any young woman standing near you would feel neglected if you did not promptly urge joining in the revel. It is all very jolly and in the best spirit.

I met two distinguished men—one in England, the other in France—who were intimate with Napoleon III and with Bismarck, and who gave me interesting accounts of the motives of the Franco-German War. Louis Napoleon said he had no intention of having war with Germany. He knew France was wholly unprepared. The Benedetti quarrel and its result took him wholly by surprise. He was preparing for a constitutional and representative government for France, so that his son might have a surer succession. He saw that his own autocratic sway must end in revolution, but thought that in a few years he could have a govern-

ment of ministries and parties like England, which would safeguard the throne. Bismarck, on the other hand, knew as well as Napoleon the unpreparedness of France. He, Von Moltke and Von Roon went together, when the dispatch came from Benedetti, Napoleon's Ambassador, at the suggestion of King William, from Ems. It was a peaceful message. Von Moltke and Von Roon were disappointed because they all saw with Bismarck that only by a war with France and arousing German patriotism could Prussia forge to the front and its king become Emperor of United Germany. Bismarck took the dispatch, and added nothing to it, but took out several words, handed it back to his companions, and it was at once concluded that such a message was a declaration of war. One of these men said further that Bismarck told him he (Bismarck) was opposed to taking any territory from France. But the demand of the South German States for Alsace and Lorraine as a protection of their boundaries was so peremptory he had to yield to secure their joining the empire.

The coal famine threatens serious times for Great Britain. The Government promised to impose an export duty, but Parliament adjourned without enacting the law. Such a proposition from such a source shows how necessity modifies economic policies settled so long that they are claimed to be principles. Coal has gone up in price in England in the last six months \$2 a ton. If this should happen here it would be a charge of three per cent. on the capital of the New York Central. The English railway managers are very able men, but their ingenuity is taxed to the utmost to meet this increased cost of coal and keep up the same dividends, and in most lines at their half yearly meetings there was a reduction. Coal for railway and manufacturing purposes is now \$6.75 a ton, delivered. It is less than half that for the same purposes in the United States. Coal is the life of industrial nations. It has enabled Great Britain to support 36,000,000 of people in far greater comfort than 5,000,000 before the discovery of its use as fuel. We certainly do not want to prosper because of the misfortunes of others, but unless fresh sources of coal supply can be found in Europe there are incalculable possibilities for our product in the markets of the world.

The opening for the sale of American coal is very great. If the ocean carriage was arranged the market could be seized at once, and lines established for permanent occupancy and growth.

The enhanced cost of coal has increased household expenses for the wage earners and caused much distress. It is leading to a universal demand for higher wages. This again will increase the cost of production. But with coal at less than half the price a ton for our manufacturers and transportation lines that it is in Europe, the advantages in competition in every industry are so enormously on our side as to upset every calculation based on previous conditions. The prospect is as startling in its possibilities of development and prosperity for the United States as in the anxiety it is already causing our friends across the Atlantic.

Politicians in Great Britain are expecting a general election in October. All parties are preparing for it, and all admit that the Conservative majority will be so increased as to almost eliminate opposition. It is not so many years ago when, in the height of the power of Mr. Gladstone, the prediction was generally accepted that the Liberals would always govern. Now the Liberal Party seems hopelessly divided, both as to principles and leadership. The court, the aristocracy, with few exceptions, society, the moneyed men and institutions and the universities are with the Conservatives. How can a party win, they say, which has not a single duke in its membership? But shrewder statesmen fear such a preponderating majority, and in it the opposition see their hope. It is an interesting study for the future whether with the classes practically all on one side, some able, aggressive and constructive leader may now array the masses on the other side with undreamed of Radical results.

RETURN FROM EUROPE

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM EUROPE, AUGUST 24, 1901.

It is less than a quarter of a century when most Europeans thought native Americans were Indians or black. Now we are the white terror. There is everywhere an eager curiosity, not unmixed with alarm, as to what we will do next. From ignorance and indifference which minimized everything American has come exaggeration which magnifies. Large as are some fortunes with us the reality is small compared with current statements and few as are our wealthy people who are worth a hundred millions of dollars, there are supposed to be thousands of them, and an American is a pretty poor specimen of his kind who cannot show up a million a year. There is a general belief that education, literature, art, science, politics and religion are either neglected, except as contributors to money making or syndicated to sell shares. Nobody asks concerning a visitor from the United States what he has done, but how much he is worth and what of our means of livelihood he is over here to buy or dry up. There is a genuine scare on the Continent about the competition of American manufacturers in their markets and Cabinets are consulting if any combination is practicable, which will prevent the importation of American goods and check our invasion of the East, which has been opened at such vast expense and effort by European governments. I heard a Russian statesman say: "Concert of action may be impossible, but Russia in response to discriminating duties has shown how each country in its own way can stop this competition." In all the world's history wars have been racial or dynastic or for conquest of territories and national enmities have run on those lines and become hereditary. Now armies and navies are not for the maintenance, defense or expanding power of thrones or classes, but to protect and enlarge the opportunities of the workers and the workshops of the labor and capital upon which rest the prosperity and happiness of every nation. We are coming to be considered a common enemy to the extent that we actually supplant foreign manufacturers, and

this feeling is intensified by every concern which goes bankrupt, or reduces wages, or lays off a portion of its employees, ascribing it all to American competition. This unfriendliness is not likely to result in war. The relations of European governments are too intricate and uncertain among themselves for any one to take that risk and combination is impossible. An industrial defensive and offensive alliance against us has insuperable difficulties. But we must expect each country to put in practice every device to keep our products out. Germany has both tariff and trusts. Everything there is syndicated. The trusts refuse to sell anything to a merchant who deals in an imported article. This makes it more difficult for the importer because the boycott means ruin. Where the American opens his own warehouse, as the shoe dealers did in Vienna, the native shoe-makers mob the place and the police look the other way. Notwithstanding all this the superiority and cheapness of our goods are giving them increasing demand everywhere.

The perpetual menace of ever increasing overproduction forces the foreign manufacturer to seek markets abroad. On the well known principle that it pays to keep all his forces employed and all his mills at work to their full capacity if a living profit can be had on the majority of the output by selling the surplus at cost or below he is ever looking for a place to dump the cleaning up of his factories. His great hope is such a reduction or abolition of the American tariff as will enable him to flood our markets. While we can meet him successfully in fair competition he would, with the tariff off, be virtually fighting our industries and artisans with a home bounty and whether it ended in the surrender of a portion of our home markets or the reduction of wages to keep it the result would be equally unfortunate and disastrous. It was interesting to note the intense interest and pleasure in the steel strike and the threatened one in the New England cotton mills. The newspapers were jubilant in their editorials. They predicted the extension of the labor trouble to all industries. They claimed that the contest was the inevitable outcome of the trusts and that home troubles would postpone for years the Yankee industrial invasion and conquest.

While American competition in the markets of the world is more keen with Great Britain than other nations, there is an entire absence of personal animosity about it. From the King

to the cab driver only the most cordial sentiments and hospitable action is met. There is no doubt as to the cordiality of feeling toward us as a people and as a nation among the people. I made a speech at a gathering of about one hundred and fifty of the leading operating railway officers. They came from all roads. They were general managers, superintendents of motive power, of signals, of traffic and heads of the working departments. They were an exceedingly intelligent, competent and thoroughly equipped body and, like railway men everywhere, deeply interested in public affairs and keenly alive to public opinion. Every reference to the friendship of our two countries, to closer relations and harmonious action in the affairs of the world, to our becoming a world power and its significance were hailed with outbursts of cheers, enthusiasm and cordiality of unmistakable genuineness and fervor, while a suggestion of possible antagonisms was instantly and indignantly repudiated. I asked one of the superintendents about his recreations, and he said one was turning passages of Thucydides into English. I might have done that forty years ago, but the job would lay me out now.

I found a general sentiment that we should have our way about a canal across the Isthmus, to build, own and control. They were quite ready to accede courteously and cordially to our wishes, only that treaties should be abrogated as they are made by the diplomatic formalities and agreements common among friendly powers.

Europe has just grasped the full meaning of the Monroe Doctrine and unanimously resents it. The Old World wants larger trade with South America, coaling stations for fleets on this side of the ocean, both in the Atlantic and Pacific, and a free hand for protection of citizens and commerce in the several States of the Isthmus and South America. On this they are all agreed and ready to act and cannot understand that the Monroe Doctrine is as much a part of the settled policy of the United States as its Constitution. The railroads in South America have been built with foreign money and mines are developed and worked, docks and warehouses constructed, banks organized and run, and every enterprise capitalized and made possible by the lavish investment of English, German, French and Italian capital. The amount runs into tremendous figures and these governments

are alert for their citizens and their rights. If we ever have serious trouble it is more likely to come from our fixed purpose on this question than from Eastern complications or commercial rivalries.

The most interesting political events while I was in England, were the efforts of the leaders of the Liberal Party to get together, leaving them wider apart each time they met, and the meeting of the generals and captains of the triumphant Conservatives at Blenheim. The latter was an example of party organization upon the latest American model of machine politics. It was really a national convention of three thousand delegates, four from each Conservative association in the United Kingdom, to celebrate their accession to power six years ago and re-election for six years more by unprecedented majorities. The defeat and irreconcilable differences of the Liberals and the resistless power of the Tories and Liberal Unionists, now one party by the ratification at Blenheim emphasize periods in our own history. When the fighting blood of a people is up and the columns of the papers are filled day by day with lists of the killed and wounded on distant battle fields while rallying around the flag, the vast majority of the men and all the women are for their country, right or wrong. They will support the party that will carry the fight to a finish and the other party must follow or reorganize after peace.

The instructive spectacle in France is a Ministry remaining in office longer by far than any other in the life of the Republic and apparently firmly seated for a long time by a Conservative administration utilizing the Socialists. The sobering influence of responsibility was never so happily illustrated. Confronted with the problems of national defence and domestic peace and prosperity the Socialists in power stand loyally by President Loubet and Premier Waldeck-Rousseau. The event robs a possible Socialistic triumph of many of its terrors and demonstrates that this keen, able, shrewd French lawyer, Waldeck-Rousseau, who without prejudices sought and found assistance in a perilous emergency from the most unpromising elements, is the greatest constructive statesman in Europe.

RETURN FROM EUROPE

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM EUROPE, AUGUST 24, 1902.

THE most notable change in Europe since my visit last year is the disappearance of the American terror. Then there was a panic of industrial fear of American invasion. The productive possibilities of the United States were exaggerated until cabinets were consulting seriously about protective measures, either in tariff walls or in concerted action by the powers. That fear has disappeared. It was too hysterical to last. The foreign mind is now not so much how to keep the products of American mills, factories and furnaces out, as to copy American methods, and then with their cheaper labor they hope to hold their markets at home and abroad. But their study of our industrial development and success, which is very careful and exhaustive, has produced a widespread desire to combine with us. They have great trusts and are rapidly creating larger ones, but are quite satisfied to join in with similar combinations in the United States and leave the management in American hands. They have faith in American initiative and push to get things together and make the concern, however big, work successfully. This feeling has been conspicuously shown in the popularity of the shipping combination. It first aroused fear and intense hostility, but in a few months this has changed into a desire to join.

So complete is this that even the French, the most conservative and jealous of nations, are seriously considering the advantages which would accrue to their lines by entering the combination. The German Emperor is the most modern, up-to-date and brilliant ruler Europe has known in a generation. He is alert to seize upon everything which will promote German commerce and increase the prestige of Germany as a world power. He took a characteristically quick and American way of ascertaining the scope and purpose of American enterprises by brushing away all formalities and intermediaries, and extending to J. Pierpont Morgan and his party hospitalities and courtesies quite unheard of in the relations between sovereigns and citizens. It may be

taken for granted if he can find any advantage for Germany in American ways or international combinations under American management that there will be no hesitation about the position which Germany will take.

The most interesting political situation and dramatic contrast are produced by the educational legislation in England and France. It is a singular situation for the English Government to be forcing through Parliament a measure to support parochial and church schools by local taxation, and France at the same time to be closing even those church schools which are self-supporting. All the Nonconformist religious bodies in Great Britain are aroused against this measure as they have not been since they so often gave to Gladstone the following which won for him great victories. On the other hand, in France, which is a Catholic country, the Catholics are indignant almost to revolt against the expulsion of the Sisters, who are the teachers, and the shutting up of their schools. The law closing them is sustained by a majority of the party behind the present Ministry, and has the enthusiastic support of the Socialists. The situation has produced the anomalous condition that every socialistic assemblage is passing vigorous resolutions for the enforcement of the law and standing by the government, while the most conservative classes in the country are in many departments openly resisting and defying the law and the authorities. In both England and France there are in these questions lively possibilities for the defeat of the party in power and a realignment of party relations.

The negotiations with the Vatican on the question of the friars and their lands in the Philippines have done more in a few weeks to educate Europe about our position in the war with Spain and our possession and government of the archipelago than all the diplomacy and literature since the beginning of that contest. Particularly on the Continent is this noticeable. Our attitude and purposes have been the theme of discussion in the press and ecclesiastical circles. They are thoroughly understood and universally approved. The general hostility toward us which was so marked among most Continental powers and peoples on account of racial and financial sympathy with Spain is wholly gone. There is general concurrence in the opinion that the action of the American Government is necessary for peace and order in the islands, and eminently just and fair. The reply of Cardinal

Rampolla to Secretary of War Root is accepted as conclusive, in which the Cardinal says: "These declarations of the Secretary of War do honor to the deep political wisdom of the Government of the United States. The Holy See does not doubt that the mutual confidence and combined action of the representatives of the Holy See and the American Government will easily produce a happy solution of the pending questions and inaugurate for that noble country a new era of peace and true progress."

I met leading men in political and church circles, and did not anywhere hear any criticism of our propositions. On the contrary, they all agreed, and so does the European press of all shades of opinion, that the negotiations have been carried on in a most creditable spirit, and there is general admiration of the tact, wisdom and moderation displayed by President Roosevelt and Governor Taft.

There is little in foreign newspapers about our country, and that little so unimportant or inaccurate that I cite two instances. Americans abroad eagerly scanned the papers after the Fourth of July to find out what the President had done to make the day memorable for the Philippines in the promulgation of the scheme of government for the islands, general amnesty and hopeful promise, and how it had been celebrated at home. But the only news was a column account of a dinner given to a monkey at Newport with a large and fashionable company, and then, following, endless editorial comments on the strenuous efforts of the ennuied and fabulously wealthy to find amusement and recreation and kill time. It gravely reported at a shilling a word by cable that the monkey had on a morning instead of a dress suit, but that he would adopt the usages of society in the subsequent entertainments arranged in his honor, and that he behaved with a propriety which aroused general admiration until the nuts were served, when his natural instincts got the better of his education.

In a village where I happened to be over Sunday I found in the reading room of the hotel a newspaper containing a cable dispatch from New York which said that the directors of the Rock Island Railroad Company had voted to issue to the stockholders of the company as a free gift \$500,000,000 in face value of new stock and bonds, and with the comment that thus American multi-millionaires are made by the stroke of a pen. I then attended a little church in the place. The pastor said the church was strug-

gling with a debt for the first time, but he hoped the liberality of the visitors would wipe it out before the season closed. He then with some trepidation stated the amount to be 125 francs. As a franc is about twenty cents, one can see the extent of the burden. With my mind occupied with the statement I had read an hour before about the \$500,000,000 Rock Island bonus and this church struggling with a debt of \$25, I could not help sermonizing to myself how one's sense of proportion could be violently wrenched!

A steady increase in the cost of living in Europe is necessitating frequent advances in wages. This addition to the cost of production over there is helpful to our exports. Modern requirements in different communities are one of the chief causes of this addition to living expenses. Municipalities which have existed ages under medieval conditions without change are now demanding water, sewerage sanitation, electric lighting, parks and better streets and roads. The result is increased taxation, which causes additions to rents, and then follow the tax and rent added to the prices for food, fuel and clothes. All this has come within a few years, but, as the people become educated on the subject, these improvements spread and increase at a rate which upsets the ideas of centuries of growth and all old calculations. There is little public spirit demanding accountability from public officials in these communities. I was told of one town where, to save taxes for improvements, the Mayor and Council decided to sell the public park. Then they bought as individuals and were already reimbursed by the sale of half. Really, these old and effete civilizations can give points to the official plunderers of our cities.

It is an object lesson in the study of forestry to ride through Switzerland. The cultivation of the valleys and hill and mountain sides sustains a large and vigorous population, and the farms exist solely by the application of an intelligent system of forest preserves continued for centuries. Without it Switzerland would be a desert. We have by our reckless disregard for our forests permitted enough land to become a desert in the United States to sustain in comfort a population ten times that of Switzerland. We should wake up to this necessity before still greater and more irreparable damage is done.

It is amusing to note the different way in which the Monroe

Doctrine is viewed in England and on the Continent. The Continentals assert that this can never be sustained, but they are not ready to fight over it yet. The English now regard it as a good thing for the following reasons: If the war of the European world against England, long considered a possibility, if not a probability, is ever entered upon England knows she need have no fear about her Canadian possessions and her West Indian colonies, as the United States must maintain the integrity of these colonies. This will leave England all her ships and resources for use elsewhere. England regards it as a wise policy, while Continental Europe spurns it as an insolent, arrogant and untenable claim.

RETURN FROM EUROPE

INTERVIEW ON RETURN FROM EUROPE, AUGUST 24, 1903.

LAST year England was jubilant with the close of the Boer War and the coronation of the King. Now the people are absorbed in the discussion of protection and free trade under the euphonious title of an "inquiry into the fiscal policy of the empire." It is arousing deeper feeling, breaking more friendships, and is more threatening to party cohesion than the home rule issue of Mr. Gladstone. For sixty years England has ascribed her commercial prosperity and supremacy to free trade. It is the bottom faith of all parties. The first thing every Englishman has said to me since our country has come to the front in industrial competition has been, "We are all right so long as you keep to protection, but if you ever come to free trade our foreign commerce will be badly crippled." In the swing of the political pendulum it is time for the party so long in power, with its Boer War debt and troubles, its educational controversies and the desire of democracies for a change, to be defeated. But undoubtedly because he believes in it, and to give a new issue to what would otherwise be a purely defensive campaign, Mr. Chamberlain, the ablest, most courageous, aggressive and resourceful of British politicians, has projected the policy of protection.

For two generations this question has been out of Parliament and out of print. Arguments which are as old with us as Alexander Hamilton, and still fresh and vigorous with William McKinley, are unknown in England. The hot discussion ruins the social side of dinners and interrupts the conservatism of trade. Nearly the whole Liberal Party gathered at the National Liberal Club to listen to a kindergarten lecture for free trade from our friend Bourke Cockran, and it was the oratorical triumph of his life. The cry is something like "Protection for revenue only!" which Mr. Cleveland gave the Democratic Party, and which carried the country—partly in 1884 and wholly in 1892—because the people were determined to try the experiment. It is also as keen a cleaver into the ranks of the Unionist Party

as was Mr. Bryan's 16 to 1 with the Democrats in 1896. To prevent an open rupture the Cabinet adopted a device which is original and worthy the brilliant political genius of its author. To allow a debate in Parliament, when all the Liberal leaders and many of the strongest and ablest of the Conservatives, including a majority of the Cabinet, would make speeches against Mr. Chamberlain's policy, would break up the party and educate the country. But the announcement that the Cabinet was making an "inquiry," and not ready to formulate a policy, enabled the Government to shut off debate. It gives Mr. Chamberlain a fresh field for the campaign which he begins in October on the platform, and is now prosecuting by leaflet and pamphlet and in the press, and the advantage of making a lodgment for protection in the minds of the people while they are open to conviction. An "inquiry" is destined to take a high place in political management. It may mean investigation and report, or that the promoters of a policy are marking time while finding out which way the cat will jump. If it was believed the United States would retaliate by overthrowing the transit privileges for Canadian grain across our territory, the food part of protection would be dropped at once.

Protection is making headway in England. The large subsidy to the Cunard ships, the countervailing duties on sugar to protect the colonies against Continental bounties, the livestock inspection, which is used to limit importations that will compete with the British farmer, the additions made from time to time for revenue to dutiable articles, from which now about \$75,000,000 a year is collected, are all surrenders of free trade fortresses. Protection countries are dumping into England the surplus of their manufactures at cost or less, and driving out of existence, one after another, British industries, and the invasion of their home market, which is the basis of their manufactures, pinches harder every year. Continental countries are pouring into England the dregs of their population, who by their low standard of living are crowding the British workingman both out of the tenement where he lives decently and out of employment by accepting wages upon which he cannot exist. The report of the Parliamentary committee, made a few weeks ago, at the close of the session, suggests drastic legislation to keep out this undesirable immigration.

The coronation pageant and the parade with and for President Loubet were in a sense the same, but the significance of each was immeasurably different. We have become so accustomed to centennials that they appeal to us, and here, just one hundred years after Napoleon tried so hard to cross the Channel, his successor as the ruler of the French was received with a cordiality and enthusiasm as remarkable as they were sincere. It was amusing to hear the English yelling as it is spelled, and not as the French is pronounced, "Vive Loubet!" King Edward VII with rare tact and sense has done more in a few months to break down the hatred and prejudice of centuries between those hereditary enemies, England and France, than the diplomatists of both countries have accomplished in generations.

Quite as significant were the attentions shown to the officers of the American fleet and the brotherly way they were greeted everywhere. The King, the Lord Mayor and the people did their best to extend a welcome to them which would be equal to that given the President of France, and only a suggestion of what would be done if by any possibility the President of the United States should visit England. The English think that with the Irish land question satisfactorily settled, and the King's cordial reception in Ireland, the Irish-American hostility will disappear and much closer relations and feelings grow between the people of the United States and Great Britain.

The continuing fall in prices of stocks without a panic in industries astonished statesmen, financiers, and business men abroad. A corresponding drop in standard English railway shares of from thirty to one hundred points could not occur without a general collapse of the whole fabric of business and credit. While this unusual spectacle bewilders foreigners, it excites distrust as to our methods and management. A large investor said to me: "I cannot understand why, when I have held for years a piece of paper representing my purchase in an American company, and it has paid dividends regularly, and I know all about it, and have absolute confidence in it, I should be compelled to exchange it for three pieces of paper, not knowing whether any or all of them together are worth anything for permanent investment." This stock panic ruined the vacations of Americans abroad. They were apprehensive of its spreading, or, like most of our countrymen, they had taken little flyers on sailing, "just to

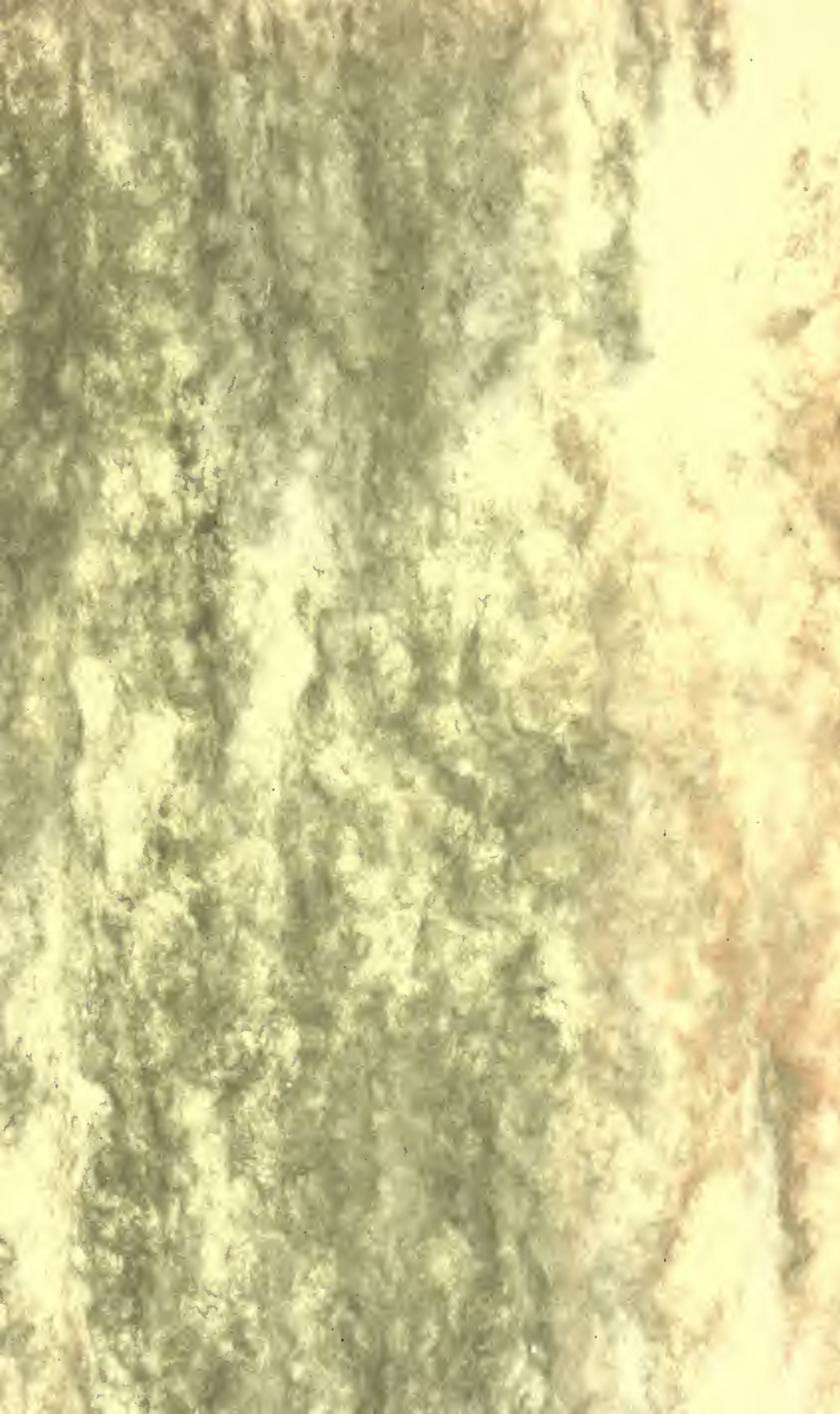
pay expenses, you know." A Wall Street man said to me: "While I was on the Acropolis, gazing at the Parthenon, and my friends were in ecstasies over its history and grandeur, I would have given a large amount toward the fund for its restoration or removal if I could at that minute have been at the corner of Fifth Avenue and Broadway looking up at the Flatiron Building."

Mrs. Maybrick, after nineteen years' imprisonment, must have retained, in spite of her sufferings, her American humor. A woman visiting the prison recently congratulated the poor woman upon her coming release next year, and asked what she expected to do. "Well," said Mrs. Maybrick, "society is so quiet and dull here I think I will take a trip around the world."

The most unpromising situations can yield some fun to alleviate the tedium of travel. I saw a French custom-house paralyzed. An American had become so impressed with the quality and cheapness of Swiss cigars that he had bought a hundred for \$1 and hidden them in his trunk. The customs officers pulled out the box, and amid wild gesticulations wanted to know what it meant. In the meantime a mouse jumped out from under the dress of one of the party and flew for refuge at one and then another of the women. For a few minutes pandemonium broke loose, and screams could be heard a mile. Happily, before a tragedy, the mouse scurried out and across the track, and the customs officer let the man have his box for \$10. He said afterward he thought he could do better at home.

I found many pensioners of our Civil War in Switzerland. Most of them were natives of the country, but had fought in our armies. They said at Swiss hotels in many places they got excellent board, a clean room and good care for \$9 a month, and with farmers in the country for \$6, and were passing the evening of their lives as local oracles and with comfort and distinction.





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